1932-1939– ***The Vanguard, Socialist Action & Labor Challenge***
Correspondence & documents
Including World War 2 & Revolutionary Workers Party
** Archival Items listed for information only, on file or at National Archives*

1932

1932-1a.	Index to ''Selected Readings in Marxism, M. Spector.''
1932-1b	Cover page ''Prefatory note'' ed. (99-page document on file)
1933-July	***Regina Manifesto:*** CCF – First National Convention

1934

1934-02Feb19-1a	Statement to the I.L.O., Toronto Branch
1934-03Mar10-1a	To: SYC, Toronto: reply from EC of ILO, Toronto
1934-10Oct00-1a	Bulletin No.3 re: Congress against War & Fascism

1935

1935-01Jan14a	Minutes of City Exec.(SYC) Dues and finances-##*M.Dowson*
1935-03Mar00-1a	*Bulletin No. 1: Workers Party of Canada
1935-03Mar00-1b	Sheet 2: Ukrainian work and literature, etc.
1935-03Mar00-1c	Sheet 3: Spartacus Youth League, etc.
1935-03Mar00-1d	Sheet 4: Trade Union Committee, etc.
1935-03Mar1-la	SYL Resolution on CCYM (CCF Youth)
1935-05May18a	WPC letter signed J. MacDonald, Secy. To ''Vapaa Sana''
1935-05May18b	Photos Jack MacDonald and Maurice Spector
**1935-July (ILO)*	*Circular Letter #3 International Secretariat (Crux (L.T.) on Youth Bureau of Stockholm; France, Europe (on file)*
1935-10Oct26-1a	Circular Letter #2 to all branches SYL –H. Kennedy

1935-12Dec4-1 NC of SYL of Canada Circular Letter #3 (finances)

1935-12Dec99a Do. Vol.1 No.2 The C.C.F. and the Canadian Youth

1936

1936-00-1a C.C.F. moves to exploit B.C.'s radical youth

1936-01-1ax Document by L. Clark: "Analysis of CCYM"

1936-02-1 Summary of the Resolution (in opposition)*##RDnote"Murray"*

1936-03-1a Thesis on SYL of C: Entry into CCYM

1936-03Mar27-1a The S.Y.L. and the C.C.Y.M. (CCF youth)

1936-04-1a Resolution on CCYM

1936-04Apr00-1a Flyer: Relief Workers On Strike; Mass Meeting April 8

1936-04Apr00-1b Flyer: "Scarboro Relief Union: Mass Meeting April 15"

1936-05-1a *(Found as May)* Open Letter to CCYM (dissolution of SYL)

1936-06June00 Flyer: "Solidarity!" in mass meeting at Queen's Park

1936-11Nov00-1a (SYL) Resolutions for Provincial (CCF) Convention

1936-12Dec00-1a *(SWL)* "Vote for Bill Butterworth for Deputy Reeve, Ward 3"

1937

1937-00-1 *(found in 1937)* Flyer "Citizens of York Township"*(Document opposed to CCYM entry)*

1937-00-2a *(found in early 1937)* Doc. by Clark & M*(?)* Dowson opposition to entry, "We formally made a decision"

1937-01Jan11-0 (pamphlet cover) "Lessons of October" by Trotsky

****1938-May00-1 Undated, unsigned document (E. Birney, 1939?) including our CCF/CCYM orientation, evaluation of our movement and its tasks, past and present (24 pp)***

1938-06Jun00-1a Program for the S.P.G. Statement of Principles

1938-10Oct22-1a Socialist Appeal (SWP-US): WC Found Fourth International

1938-10Oct22-1b (cont'd) Internationalism Our Banner, LIFE photo Trotsky

1938-10Oct22-1c Socialist Appeal: An Open Letter, To members of the CP

1938-10Oct22-1d Lenin's General Staff of 1917; Stalin alone remains

1938-12Dec16 *(Withrawal from CCYM)* Statement of the NC (SPG) and re-founding of S.W.L.

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1939-02Feb Trotsky: Lenin on Imperialism

1939-02Feb16b Document: "Evaluation of CCF entry *by Robertson/Birney)*"

**1939-03Mar25* *Toronto Globe clip: ''Won't be conscripted C.C.F. Youth declare" ''C.C.Youth Movement will not bear arms"*

1939-05May-1 Flyer: WAR OR PEACE – What is to be done (SWL) Page 4

1939-05May-2 Flyer: May Day 1939 – Everybody out – Meeting **(Document signed Robertson/Birney on SPG)*

1939-06Jun00-1 *"Canadian capitalism…." ***(Document of formation of SPG)***

Selected Readings in Marxism, ***edited by Maurice Spector,*** Toronto, 1932

(some modernization of titles and spelling made by the website editor)

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SELECTED READINGS IN MARXISM

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edited by

Maurice Spector

Prefatory Note

This first draft of selected readings in the fundamental doctrines of Marxism was tentatively designed to serve as a basis of group discussion in connection with a workers' class in that subject. The least of all its claims is to completeness or finality. Supplemental material of additional extracts, references and notes, to fill in the gaps, will, it is planned, be issued from time to time as the need makes itself felt. The editor wishes to express his indebtedness to those comrades, but for whose generous technical assistance these readings would not be available.

TORONTO

1932

The Regina Manifesto

(Adopted at the First National Convention of the C.C.F. held at Regina, Saskatchewan in July 1933)

The CCF is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality, will be possible. The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity.

Power has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and industrialists and to their predatory interests the majority are habitually sacrificed. When private profit is the main stimulus to economic effort, our society oscillates between periods of feverish prosperity in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated. We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people.

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

This social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence. We consider that both the old parties in Canada are the instruments of capitalist interests and cannot serve as agents of social reconstruction, and that whatever the superficial differences between them, they are bound to carry on government in accordance with the dictates of the big business interests who finance them. The CCF aims at political power in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life. It is a democratic movement, a federation of farmer, labour and socialist organizations financed by its own members and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional methods. It appeals for support to all who believe that the time has come for a far-reaching reconstruction of our economic and political institutions and who are willing to work together for the carrying out of the following policies:

(1) **Planning**

The establishment of a planned, socialized economic order in order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of the national income.

The first step in this direction will be the setting up of a National Planning Commission consisting of a small body of economists, engineers and statisticians assisted by an appropriate technical staff.

The task of the Commission will be to plan for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services necessary to the efficient functioning of the economy; to coordinate the activities of the socialized industries; to provide for a satisfactory balance between the producing and consuming

power; and to carry on continuous research into all branches of the national economy in order to acquire the detailed information necessary to efficient planning.

The Commission will be responsible to the Cabinet and will work in co-operation with the Managing Boards of the Socialized Industries.

It is now certain that in every industrial country some form of planning will replace the disintegrating capitalist system. The CCF will provide that in Canada the planning shall be done, not by a small group of capitalist magnates in their own interests, but by public servants acting in the public interest and responsible to the people as a whole.

(2) Socialization of Finance

Socialization of all financial machinery—banking, currency, credit, and insurance, to make possible the effective control of currency, credit and prices, and the supplying of new productive equipment for socially desirable purposes.

Planning by itself will be of little use if the public authority has not the power to carry its plans into effect. Such power will require the control of finance and of all those vital industries and services which, if they remain in private hands, can be used to thwart or corrupt the will of the public authority. Control of finance is the first step in the control of the whole economy. The chartered banks must be socialized and removed from the control of private profit-seeking interests; and the national banking system, thus established, must have at its head a Central Bank to control the flow of credit and the general price level, and to regulate foreign exchange operations. A National Investment Board must also be set up, working in co-operation with the socialized banking system to mobilize and direct the unused surpluses of production for socially desired purposes as determined by, the Planning Commission.

Insurance Companies, which provide one of the main channels for the investment of individual savings and which, under their present competitive organization, charge needlessly high premiums for the social services that they render, must also be socialized.

(3) **Social Ownership**

Socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning, and their operation under the general direction of the Planning Commission by competent managements freed from day to day political interference.

Public utilities must be operated for the public benefit and not for the private profit of a small group of owners or financial manipulators. Our natural resources must be developed by the same methods. Such a programme means the continuance and extension of the public ownership enterprises in which most governments in Canada have already gone some distance. Only by such public ownership, operated on a planned economy, can our main industries be saved from the wasteful competition of the ruinous over-development and over-capitalization which are the inevitable outcome of capitalism. Only in a regime of public ownership and operation will the full benefits accruing from centralized control and mass production be passed on to the consuming public.

Transportation, communications and electric power must come first in a list of industries to be socialized. Others, such as mining, pulp and paper and the distribution of milk, bread, coal and gasoline, in which exploitation, waste, or financial malpractice are particularly prominent must next be brought under social ownership and operation.

In restoring to the community its natural resources and in taking over industrial enterprises from private into public control we do not propose any policy of outright confiscation. What we desire is the most stable and equitable transition to the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is impossible to decide the policies to be followed in particular cases in an uncertain future, but we insist upon certain broad principles. The welfare of the community must take supremacy over the claims of private wealth. In times of war, human life has been conscripted. Should economic circumstances call for it, conscription of wealth would be more justifiable. We recognize the need for compensation in the case of individuals and institutions which must receive adequate maintenance during the transitional period before the planned economy becomes fully operative. But a CCF government will not play the role of rescuing bankrupt private concerns for the benefit of promoters and of stock and bond holders. It will not pile up a deadweight burden of unremunerative debt which represents claims upon the public treasury of a functionless owner class.

The management of publicly owned enterprises will be vested in boards who will be appointed for their competence in the industry and will conduct each particular enterprise on efficient economic lines. The machinery of management may well vary from industry to industry, but the rigidity of Civil Service rules should be avoided and likewise the evils of the patronage system as exemplified in so many departments of the Government today. Workers in these public industries must be free to organize in trade unions and must be given the right to participate in the management of the industry.

(4) **Agriculture**

Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm on conditions to be laid down by individual Provinces; insurance against unavoidable crop failure; removal of the tariff burden from the operations of agriculture; encouragement of producers' and consumers' co-operatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products.

The security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm which is imperilled by the present disastrous situation of the whole industry, together with adequate social insurance, ought to be guaranteed under equitable conditions.

The prosperity of agriculture, the greatest Canadian industry, depends upon a rising volume of purchasing power of the masses in Canada for all farm goods consumed at home, and upon the maintenance of large scale exports of the stable commodities at satisfactory prices or equitable commodity exchange.

The intense depression in agriculture today is a consequence of the general world crisis caused by the normal workings of the capitalistic system resulting in: 1) Economic nationalism expressing itself in tariff barriers and other restrictions of world trade, 2) The decreased purchasing power of unemployed and under-employed workers and of the Canadian people in general, and 3) The exploitation of both primary producers and consumers by monopolistic corporations who absorb a great proportion of the selling price of farm products. (This last is true, for example, of the distribution of milk and dairy products, the packing industry, and milling.)

The immediate cause of agricultural depression is the catastrophic fall in the world prices of foodstuffs as compared with other prices, this fall being due in large measure to the deflation of currency and credit. To counteract the worst effect of this, the internal price level should be raised so that the farmers' purchasing power may be restored.

We propose therefore:

1. The improvement of the position of the farmer by the increase of purchasing power made possible by the social control of the financial system. This control must be directed towards the increase of

employment as laid down elsewhere and towards raising the prices of farm commodities by appropriate credit and foreign exchange policies.

2. Whilst the family farm is the accepted basis for agricultural production in Canada the position of the farmer may be much improved by:

a) The extension of consumers' co-operatives for the purchase of farm supplies and domestic requirements; and
b) The extension of co-operative institutions for the processing and marketing of farm products.

a) Both of the foregoing to have suitable encouragement and assistance.

3. The adoption of a planned system of agricultural development based upon scientific soil surveys directed towards better land utilization, and a scientific policy of agricultural development for the whole of Canada.

4. The substitution for the present system of foreign trade, of a system of import and export boards to improve the efficiency of overseas marketing, to control prices, and to integrate the foreign trade policy with the requirements of the national economic plan.

(5) **External Trade**

The regulation in accordance with the national plan of external trade through import and export boards.

Canada is dependent on external sources of supply for many of her essential requirements of raw materials and manufactured products. These she can obtain only by large exports of the goods she is best fitted to produce. The strangling of our export trade by insane protectionist policies must be brought to an end. But the old controversies between free traders and protectionists are now largely obsolete. In a world of nationally organized economies Canada must organize the buying and selling of her main imports and exports under public boards and take steps to regulate the flow of less important commodities by a system of licenses. By so doing she will be enabled to make the best trade agreements possible with foreign countries, put a stop to the exploitation of both primary producer and ultimate consumer, make possible the co-ordination of internal processing, transportation, and marketing of farm products, and facilitate the establishment of stable prices for such export commodities.

(6) **Co-Operative Institutions**

The encouragement by the public authority of both producers' and consumers' co- operative institutions.

In agriculture, as already mentioned, the primary producer can receive larger net revenue through co-operative organization of purchases and marketing. Similarly in retail distribution of staple commodities such as milk, there is room for development both of public municipal operation and of consumers' co-operatives, and such co-operative organization can be extended into wholesale distribution and into manufacturing. Co-operative enterprises should be assisted by the state through appropriate legislation and through the provision of adequate credit facilities.

(7) **Labour Code**

A national labour code to secure for the worker maximum income and leisure, insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and effective participation in the management of his industry or profession.

The spectre of poverty and insecurity which still haunts every worker, though technological developments have made possible a high standard of living for everyone, is a disgrace which must be removed from our civilization. The community must organize its resources to effect progressive reduction of the hours of work in accordance with technological development and to provide a constantly rising standard of life to everyone who is willing to work. A labour code must be developed which will include state regulation of all wages, equal reward and equal opportunity of advancement for equal services, irrespective of sex; measures to guarantee the right to work or the right to maintenance through stabilization of employment and through employment insurance; social insurance to protect workers and their families against the hazards of sickness, death, industrial accident and old age; limitation of hours of work and protection of health and safety in industry. Both wages and insurance benefits should be varied in accordance with family needs.

In addition workers must be guaranteed the undisputed right to freedom of association, and should be encouraged and assisted by the state to organize themselves in trade unions. By means of collective agreements and participation in works councils, the workers can achieve fair working rules and share in the control of industry and profession; and their organizations will be indispensable elements in a system of genuine industrial democracy.

The labour code should be uniform throughout the country. But the achievement of this end is difficult so long as jurisdiction over labour legislation under the BNA Act is mainly in the hands of the provinces. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that the BNA Act be amended to make such a national labour code possible.

(8) **Socialized Health Services**

Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.

With the advance of medical science, the maintenance of a healthy population has become a function for which every civilized community should undertake responsibility. Health services should be made at least as freely available as are educational services today. But under a system which is still mainly one of private enterprise the costs of proper medical care, such as the wealthier members of society can easily afford, are at present prohibitive for great masses of the people. A properly organized system of public health services including medical and dental care, which would stress the prevention rather than the cure of illness should be extended to all our people in both rural and urban areas. This is an enterprise in which Dominion, Provincial and Municipal authorities, as well as the medical and dental professions, can co-operate.

(9) **B.N.A. Act** *(British North America Act)*

The amendment of the Canadian constitution, without infringing upon racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate Provincial claims to autonomy, so as to give the Dominion government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope; the abolition of the Canadian Senate.

We propose that the necessary amendments to the BNA Act shall be obtained as speedily as required, safeguards being inserted to ensure that the existing rights of racial and religious minorities shall not be changed without their own consent. What is chiefly needed today is the placing in the hands of the

national government of more power to control national economic development. In a rapidly changing economic environment our political constitution must be reasonably flexible. The present division of powers between Dominion and Provinces reflects the conditions of a pioneer, mainly agricultural, community in 1867. Our constitution must be brought into line with the increasing industrialization of the country and the consequent centralization of economic and financial power which has taken place in the last two generations. The principle laid down in the Quebec Resolution of the Fathers of Confederation should be applied to the conditions of 1933, that "there be a general government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country and local governments for each of the provinces charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections."

The Canadian Senate, which was originally created to protect provincial rights, but has failed even in this function, has developed into a bulwark of capitalist interests, as is illustrated by the large number of company directorships held by its aged members. In its peculiar composition of a fixed number of members appointed for life it is one of the most reactionary assemblies in the civilized world. It is a standing obstacle to all progressive legislation, and the only permanently satisfactory method of dealing with the constitutional difficulties it creates is to abolish it.

(10) **External Relations**

A Foreign Policy designed to obtain international economic co-operation and to promote disarmament and world peace.

Canada has a vital interest in world peace. We propose, therefore, to do everything in our power to advance the idea of international co-operation as represented by the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization. We would extend our diplomatic machinery for keeping in touch with the main centres of world interest. But we believe that genuine international cooperation is incompatible with the capitalist regime which is in force in most countries, and that strenuous efforts are needed to rescue the League from its present conditions of being mainly a League of capitalist Great Powers. We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars. Within the British Commonwealth, Canada must maintain her autonomy as a completely self-governing nation. We must resist all attempts to build up a new economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars. Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism.

(11) **Taxation and Public Finance**

A new taxation policy designed not only to raise public revenues but also to lessen the glaring inequalities of income and to provide funds for social services and the socialization of industry: the cessation of the debt creating system of Public Finance.

In the type of economy that we envisage, the need for taxation, as we now understand it, will have largely disappeared. It will nevertheless be essential during the transition period, to use the taxing powers, along with the other methods proposed elsewhere, as a means of providing for the socialization of industry, and for extending the benefits of increased social services.

At the present time capitalist governments in Canada raise a large proportion of their revenues from such levies as customs duties and sales taxes, the main burden of which falls upon the masses. In place of such taxes upon articles of general consumption, we propose a drastic extension of income, corporation and inheritance taxes, steeply graduated according to ability to pay. Full publicity must be given to income tax payments and our tax collection system must be brought up to the English standard of efficiency.

We also believe in the necessity for an immediate revision of the basis of Dominion and Provincial sources of revenue, so as to produce a co-ordinated and equitable system of taxation throughout Canada.

An inevitable effect of the capitalist system is the debt creating character of public financing. All public debts have enormously increased, and the fixed interest charges paid thereon now amount to the largest single item of so-called uncontrollable public expenditures. The CCF proposes that in future no public financing shall be permitted which facilitates the perpetuation of the parasitic interest-receiving class; that capital shall be provided through the medium of the National Investment Board and free from perpetual interest charges.

We propose that all Public Works, as directed by the Planning Commission, shall be financed by the issuance of credit, as suggested, based upon the National Wealth of Canada.

(12) **Freedom**

Freedom of speech and assembly for all; repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code; amendment of the Immigration Act to prevent the present inhuman policy of deportation; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs.

In recent years, Canada has seen an alarming growth of Fascist tendencies among all governmental authorities. The most elementary rights of freedom of speech and assembly have been arbitrarily denied to workers and to all whose political and social views do not meet with the approval of those in power. The lawless and brutal conduct of the police in certain centres in preventing public meetings and in dealing with political prisoners must cease. Section 98 of the Criminal Code which has been used as a weapon of political oppression by a panic-stricken capitalist government, must be wiped off the statute book and those who have been imprisoned under it must be released. An end must be put to the inhuman practice of deporting immigrants who were brought to this country by immigration propaganda and now, through no fault of their own, to find themselves victims of an executive department against whom there is no appeal to the courts of the land. We stand for full economic, political and religious liberty for all.

(13) **Social Justice**

The establishment of a commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially-minded jurists and social workers, to deal with all matters pertaining to crime and punishment and the general administration of law, in order to humanize the law and to bring it into harmony with the needs of the people.

While the removal of economic inequality will do much to overcome the most glaring injustices in the treatment of those who come into conflict with the law, our present archaic system must be changed and brought into accordance with a modern concept of human relationships. The new system must not be based, as is the present one, upon vengeance and fear, but upon an understanding of human behavior. For this reason its planning and control cannot be left in the hands of those steeped in an outworn legal tradition; and therefore it is proposed that there shall be established a national commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially-minded jurists and social workers whose duty it shall be to devise a system of prevention and correction consistent with other features of a new social order.

(14) **An Emergency Programme**

The assumption by the Dominion Government of direct responsibility for dealing with the present critical unemployment situation and for tendering suitable work or adequate maintenance; the adoption of measures to relieve the extremity of the crisis such as a programme of public spending on housing, and other enterprises that will increase the real wealth of Canada, to be financed by the issue of credit based on the national wealth.

The extent of unemployment and the widespread suffering which it has caused, creates a situation with which provincial and municipal governments have long been unable to cope and forces upon the Dominion Government direct responsibility for dealing with the crisis as the only authority with financial resources adequate to meet the situation. Unemployed workers must be secured in the tenure of their homes, and the scale and methods of relief, at present altogether inadequate, must be such as to preserve decent human standards of living.

It is recognized that even after a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Government has come into power, a certain period of time must elapse before the planned economy can be fully worked out. During this brief transitional period, we propose to provide work and purchasing power for those now unemployed by a far-reaching programme of public expenditure on housing slum clearance, hospitals, libraries, schools, community halls, parks, recreational projects, reforestation, rural electrification, the elimination of grade crossings, and other similar projects in both town and country. This programme, which would be financed by the issuance of credit based on the national wealth, would serve the double purpose of creating employment and meeting recognized social needs. Any steps which the Government takes, under this emergency programme, which may assist private business, must include guarantees of adequate wages and reasonable hours of work, and must be designed to further the advance towards the complete Co-operative Commonwealth.

Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value, for the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our national resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small proportion of our population.

No CCF Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

*Note by R.D. (See p.2)

* I think that this reflects the factional struggle initiated by the developing Fieldites on the Cdn movement against the Trotsky leadership — RD

TORONTO,
February 19,1934.

The International Left Opposition,
Toronto Branch.

Dear Comrades:

At meeting of the Central unit of the SYC on February 18th, motion was formally passed that the SYC send a protest to the LO asking for more co-operation in our work.

I have been instructed to report this to you and also the circumstances that gave rise to this motion and the discussion that took place.

The following are the reasons for this motion:

1. Delegates at Conferences

At the recent A.E. Smith United Front Conference, only the SYC delegates were present. This conference was, as you know, of considerable importance and had LO delegates been present we feel that it was very possible to have had one elected to the Action Committee and to speak at the Massey Hall meeting. At the less important Anti-Section 98 Conference, bur one which could not be overlooked, one LO delegate arrived about 2 hours late. Participation in this kind of work, we feel will help put our organizations before the eyes of the workers and show that we are sincere in our desire to participate in their struggles.

2. Distribution of literature

In the work of distributing literature, while the SYC realizes that the greater part of this work should be carried out by its members, it feels that a certain amount of this work could and should be done by those comrades in the LO who have the time and are in circumstances which will allow them to do it. At mass meetings, house to house leaflet distribution, etc., until now it has been the SYC upon whom almost the entire responsibility has fallen to see that literature is distributed. We understand that in the LO there are similar committees to our own, Literature, Agit-Prop, etc. which could make possible the efficient execution of this work.

3. Representation from the LO to the SYC

For some months past, since all the LO comrades were withdrawn from the SYC, we have been asking and urging that we be given additional LO comrades to help in our work; after much delay, one additional comrade was sent in to our unit and one to the Mt. Dennis unit. You will understand, that it is difficult for us to cope with our tasks without sufficient guidance from comrades representing the LO.

4. Internal Discussion of problems

Several times in the discussion o f problems, political questions, the SYC has had differences of opinion expressed and has referred these questions to the LO, to which we naturally look for direction and leadership. It has, in almost every case, taken months for a reply to come down and this has hampered our ideological development considerably. We feel that we cannot make ourselves too clear when we urge that our problems and differences be discussed by the LO comrades, and the full report of the discussions sent to us, as soon as possible.

5. On the picket line

In the few strikes that the LO and SYC have actively supported, it has been chiefly the SYC comrades who have made it their duty to get down on the picket line, mingle with the workers, collect money, etc. Although we certainly do not wish to make a fetish out of moral support to the striking workers, we believe it to be of the utmost importance that the LO participate to an equal extent in this activity.

6. Issuing the paper

For many months the only Canadian LO paper has been the "Young Militant". A Canadian youth paper is, of course, absolutely essential in our task of organizing and gaining contact with the youth masses; but it cannot hope to

measure up to the responsibility of an adult organ. Because of the fact that the Vanguard has not appeared we have been forced to give the Young Militant" a more advanced tone and to include articles which properly had their place in an adult paper. Thus, our youth paper, is hindered in its task of being the revolutionary paper especially for the youth.

The SYC expects that the LO will appreciate its interest in the joint work of the two organizations which the members of the SYC evince by the above criticism and will respond in a sympathetic manner to it.

Comradely yours,

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
TORONTO-CENTRAL CITY BRANCH

Sec.

J. B. Field, L.R.W.P.

#R.D. Note p.1
"I think that this reflects the factional struggle initiated by the developping Fieldites in the Cdn movement against the Spector leadership - R.D."

Toronto,
March 10th., 1934.

Spartacus Youth Club,
Toronto.

Dear Comrades:

The Executive Committee of the Toronto Branch of the I.L.O. considered your communication of Feb. 19th, in which you informed us that the S.Y.C. had decided to"send a protest to the L.O. asking for more cO-operation in our work".

Before proceeding to discuss the matters raised we think it advisable to state that instead of sending "protests" regarding such matters, it would be preferable to have your representative on the E.C. of the LO raise such questions in the regular course of business, or ask them to be placed on the agenda of our meetings. The purpose of mutual representation is for co-operation and co-ordination in our work. In fact several of the matters raised in your communication were discussed at our executive meetings and if you had been informed of them by your representative, there would have been no need to mention them in your communication.

A.E.Smith Conference

No communication or invitation waw addressed to the LO to attend the conference, so that the matter did not come up in regular correspondence. No member of the EC brought the question up before the first meeting of the conference, either because no one was aware of the conference, had not seen the notice in the Stalinist press or if so had escaped their memory for the time being. At the first meeting after the conference delegates were appointed. When the SYC expresses the opinion that one of our speakers might have been placed on the platform at Massey Hall we are scarcely inclined to share the opinion. All kinds of quacks are acceptable to the Stalinists, but they have hardly reformed to that extent, that they are prepared to allow an LO speaker to appear before an audience of 3,000 workers on a platform they control. We may possibly overestimate the duplicity of the Stalinits. We regret that the LO delegates to the Section 98 confernece arrinved two hours late. Unless there was good and sufficient reason such laxity on the part of our comrades is impermissable. We thank the SYC for drawing our attention to this matter.

Distribution of Literature.

Generally speaking we are of the opinion that it is preferable at mass meetings to have our younger comrades engage in this work. It is a work that is particularly suitable to them and creates a favorable impression on an audience. Our younger comrades are smarter and brighter and in most cases make better sales comrades than the older members. On the other hand we agree that where systematic distribution is arranged all comrades should participate, unless exception is granted for good reasons in particular cases. There have been no special leaflet distribution campaigns organized by the organization. In cases where dodgers are got out for advertizing meetings it has usually happened that these have appeared close to meeting and sufficient time was not available to have them placed in the hands of the groups. This has meant that comrades had to be approached outside the regular channels of the organisations. This has given rise to complaints and a certain amount of friction. Our young comrades have borne the brunt of this work, which the whole organization appreciates. It is not always practical to get these leaflets out in time to have them in the hands

of the groups, but the matter has been discussed more than once and attempts are being made to secure smoother working in this matter and avoid the work being loaded on to a few comrades who are located more conveniently than others.

Representation from the LO to the SYC
We are only too anxious to assist in this regard and any suggestions for improvement will have the utmost consideration from the LO.

Internal discussion of problems.
You compàain here that the ideological development of the SYC is being hampered by lengthy delays on the part of the LO in the discussion of problems, political questions and differences of opinion referred to them by the SYC. We are of the opinion that this is exaggerated to say the least. If your work was being seriously hampered then your representative would experience no difficulty if he pointed this out to the LO. EC in having any pressing matter immediately attended to. There are only two questions outstanding that we have any knowledge of and here there is considerable room for debate as to their immediate pressing nature. These questions are anti-Militarism and the question of the United Front. Certainly so far as our immediate tasks are concerned the so-called differences should not hamper our work in the slightest. The LO. EC. adopted a resolution on Militarism several weeks ago. This was held up by your representative desired to place a statement before the EC. So far as the United Front is concerned this seems to be quite clear to most comrades. But there is a point of view, which was expressed some time ago in a statement by comrade Gappel, that there can be no United Fron 'from below' or that a United Front'from Below' is no united front at all. To suggest that a discussion on this point of view is particularly pressing or that lack of a discussion is hampering the ideological development of the SYC is plain nonsense. However without in the least capitulating to the point of view that every question raised in an artificial manner; ~~must be immediately considered~~ questions that do not arise in the development and nature of our work; must be immediately considered in the interests of ideological development, the LO has decided to frame a statement on the United Front. This will be forthcoming at an early date. It is not possible to give a full report of all discussions. The Syc representative can give a resume of same to your organization.

On the Picket Line
There is no doubt that it has been chiefly the SYC comrades who have participated in this work. The LO comrades have never been really organised for this activity. It can almost be taken for granted that with the present relation of forces the younger comrades will probably have to continue with the major work in this activity. This cannot be construed of course to mean that where the LO is directly concerned with the leadership of ~~the~~ strike that all our forces should not be mobilized for assistance. Without trying to minimize the importance of this activity even at this stage in the development of our organization, where important contacts can often be made on the picket line, there is a pòint of view that has made its appearance at least in the Dressmakers and Garment Workers strike, that is not altogether a correct approach to the question of picketting and may be referred to here. The impression seems to exist in some quarters that it is the duty of the LO members or the members of any revolutionary political party to "take over" the duty of picketting from the workers who are on strike. It should be our duty to activize the workers to engage in the work of mass picketing themselves. In these strikes referred to several thousands were on strike, there was no question here of lack of forces, which required reinforcements. Neither was it a question of mingling with the strikers that was particularly stressed, but there seemed to be the point of view that our comrades ought to replace the actula strikers themselves on the picket line. This is not a correct a pproach and has nothing in common with the task of development of mass action of the workers themselves. However a certain criticism regarding this activity is in order and there is no desire in the above remarks to escape it.

Issuing the Paper.

One of the outstanding defects in the LO work has been the practical disappearance of the Vanguard from the scene. You are no doubt aware that we have set ourselves the task of raising money for the purchase of type for the purpose of issuing a printed organ. We are not so sure as you are that the matter of duplication will be solved with the regular appearance of the two papers. We are inclined to the opinion that the question lies deeper than this. However this question of the two papers is on the table for discussion. There is a point of view that for some time a section of the LO paper might be sufficient for youth material and that all forces should be centred on the development of this organ.

In conclusion we should state that we have considered the question of the relations of the LO and the SYC and are not satisfaied that a clear understanding exists as to our organizational and political relations. For the purpose of clarity in this regard we have decided to draft a statement which will be ready soon.

Comradely yours,

E.C. I.L.O. Toronto Branch.

WORKERS' PARTY OF CANADA

INTERNAL BULLETIN NO. 3 OCTOBER 1934

CANADIAN CONGRESS AGAINST WAR & FASCISM

Dear Comrades:

You are aware that the executive of our Party and the Toronto Branches were represented at the recent Congress against War and Fascism. We endeavoured to present a resolution outlining what in our estimation should be the policy of such a Congress, but were prevented from doing so by the chairman who gave the lead to the Congress. Most of our comrades are informed of the contents of this resolution, but the executive committee thinks it advisable to give a short review of the nature of the Congress and our attitude towards it, so that there will be no misunderstanding of our position.

The number of "delegates" and observers who filled a fairly large hall is apt to give the impression that the Congress really represented substantial working class forces and that a genuine united front of workers' organizations had been established, where a free and open discussion of methods and policies of fighting war and Fascism could be conducted. In this regard it is necessary to have a correct appraisal of what the Congress really was and how it was organized.

The Canadian Congress is an offshoot of the so-called International Congress against War and Fascism organized by the Stalinist forces by the method of hand-picking individuals, mainly intellectuals and pacifists with a few Communist leaders to balance and control activities. The International Congress was not organized on the basis of a united front conference of working class organizations.

The initiative committee in Canada was organized by the Stalinist forces in the same manner. The Stalinists used a few local socialists who lately have worked in close collaboration with them and are nothing short of Stalinist tools masquerading as independent socialists, along with a few well-known pacifists to form this committee. A general invitation is then made to organizations and individuals, and further additions made from the Congress floor. In this connection, individuals who represented nothing but themselves were added to the local committee and representatives of working class organizations not controlled by the Stalinists kept off.

The so-called National Congress was conducted along similar lines, with a guaranteed control of the Congress by a process of having their innumerable local organizations represented. Committees on resolutions, programs, etc., were hand-picked and the work of the Congress conducted behind the scenes. The arrangements made for the Toronto Congress were such that for two days the delegateswere inflicted by a succession of speeches, with the so-called program and resolutions deferred to the last session of the Congress. Most of the invited speakers were there as individuals or observers.

It was obvious that a decision had been made not to permit any presentation of different viewpoints on the conduct of a fight against Fascism and war. Over and over again the chairman intimated that no "polemics" were desired. This did not prevent him, however, from allowing his political friends to make attacks when they deemed it necessary. We attended the Congress, not with any illusions as to its char-

acter, but for the purpose of raising a true working class approach to the organization of a genuine united front to fight against Fascism and imperialist war. Our resolution was submitted to the Resolutions Committee, referred from there to the Program Committee and a decision was evidently made there to keep the resolution off the floor. It was to prevent the Stalinists having to meet this resolution in debate that we were denied our rights in presenting our viewpoint.

The so-called program finally adopted is essentially a pacifist approach to the whole question, despite a few phrases smuggled in about the basic organizations of the workers. The whole phraseology about arousing the "people", of having "Canada" take a foremost stand for peace, about not relying "solely" on the League of Nations, etc., is nothing less than a capitulation on the part of the organizers of the Congress to petty-bourgeois, pacifist ideology. The fact that the Rev. Salem Bland regards the Congress as a great step forward on the road to a realization of a Christian social order ought to be enough for any militant worker to judge thereby the character of the Congress. Rabbi Eisendrath's reference to the "spirit of conciliation" is another significant indication.

That we attended and even attempted to raise the question of a true working class fight against war, which according to our resolution must be a fight against capitalism itself, redounds to the credit of our organization. Despite the artificial character of these so-called Congresses, it is our duty on all occasions to raise the working class banner and expose the degeneration of the so-called Communist forces who are responsible for such caricatures. The victory at the Congress went to the forces of petty-bourgeois Christian pacifism, not because they controlled the Congress, as they were in a small minority, but because the Stalinist forces adopted their complete approach to the question of War and Fascism, and dragged the banner of revolutionary socialism in the mire. Duplications of these Congresses have been and are being held in most countries and like the many Congresses of such a nature that have been organized in the past decade by Stalinism, they will pass out of existence under the real pressure of the working class in its fight against capitalism and Fascist reaction.

This in no way means that we can afford a negative attitude towards such Congresses, but at all times we must take the opportunity presented to us of critically exposing the artificial character of such united fronts, and of placing concretely and intelligently before the assembled workers, the Leninist approach to the fight against war and the need for establishing a genuine united front of the workers' organizations in a struggle against Fascist reaction.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Minutes of City Executive Meeting January 14, 1955. (SYC)

Comrades, the first City EC meeting decided upon certain definite requirements, and plans for the future. If we are to forward the progress of the Spartacus Youth League of Canada, it is incumbent upon all members to take seriously and carry out in an energetic manner the decisions. The following decisions and recommendations adopted by the City EC will assure a certain measure of activity for the coming few months, which if carried out in the proper manner by all members will give our organization immediate impetus.

1.. The City EC has decided to set itself up in addition to its present status, as the Provisional National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League of Canada. It is our intention to make our organization National in scope; branches should be established in every locality that a Party branch exists. There is a possibility of establishing branches in the near future in at least two cities, and with the broadening of our activities our organization should broaden geographically.

2. The positions of the City EC have been decided upon as follows.

M. Dowson. City organizer and Editor of Young Militant
C. Graham. Secretary Treasurer, International and Nat'l correspondent
A. Kachuk. Social and Sports Director, Rep. to Party Ent. Committee.
H. Kennedy. Opponent org. Director, Rep. to Party EC. Headquarters Di
L. Clarke. Educational director.

The branch organizers are to form the City Ent. committee, under the supervision of A. Kachuk

The Literature agents for each unit are to be handled by the Educational directors, who in turn will receive their literature and supervision from L. Clarke.

3. Dues System, and Finances.

It is imperative upon all members to strictly adhere to, and give their full co-operation to financial matters. Our scope and activities depend to a degree upon the condition of our coffers. In the past our finances have been extremely meager, which made the organization pinched and scratched. We can never be too strong financially, and we hope for an immediate response in strengthening ourselves financially.

In future all dues collected by the local branches are to be turned over to the City Sec. Treas. He will allow each group a sum monthly for incidental expenses. Requests for sums other than this are to be made to the City Ec.

All money should be turned over immediately to the City Treasurer. Arrangements for out of town groups will be made when such are established.

Membership cards and stamps will be printed as soon as possible.
A charge of 25¢ will be made for the membership cards to new members. i.e. those that are employed. Present members are to receive books free.

A list of members names, addresses, telephone no. amt of dues paid, employed or unemployed, other organizations belonging to, where employed and any other information deemed necessarty is to be forwarded to City EC. by the Secrataries.

The following i the schedule of dues.

Employed members 15¢ weekly
Unemployed " 10¢ monthly
Students, part time workers, and members receiving small wages, will have their dues payments arranged by branch organizers.
Members behind more than two months in dues will be interviewed by the branch bureaus.

We shall establish an organizational fund, above the dues. The issuance of the Young Militant and other organizational necessities, will not be able to be carried by the dues alone. Members who can afford to do so shall pledge an amount to be paid weekly in addition to their dues.

At present we have debts amounting to $27.32. These we intend to liquidate within the next two months. Under Socials will be found a method of helping to defray this debt.

Literature

The City Educational Director will be in charge of all literature. The Mt. Dennis group is to sell literature at all meetings in Mt. Dennis and the surrounding territory.

The Downtown group will cover meetings between Dovercourt and Church sts., meetings in this territory not covered by the S.Y.C. will be covered by the Downtown Unit of the Party.
Comrades shall also take upon themselves the sale of a certain number of papers each month. These can be sold to Individual friends, and at times at meetings.
We shall be responsible for the sale of 75 copies of each issue of the Vanguard.

Educational Program:

There should be meetings held solely as educational meetings, to which outsiders shall be invited to attend. At time to time various guest speakers should be invited. Topics of discussion need not necessarily be devoted only to topics of the Class Struggle, but also in the scintific and cultural field
The cut and dried form of study class should be as limited as possible. The Party has one organized, and another is being formed in the East End by the S.Y.L. and Party jointly. When we feel that a study class of this nature is necessary one will be organized. Existing study classes should continue.

Nature of Meetings

Business meetings should be very short. There is really no necessity for long winded discussions in the business period, as the work has been co-ordinated. A period of each meeting should be educational, at which period non-members should be allowed to participate. An educational program for these meetings should be arranged by the Ed. directo and should be conducted in a lively fashion. ~~Membxxx~~

Young Militant

We have decided to recommence issuing the Young Militant. The first issue to be a ten page issue to be ready for March 1st. All material relating to the youth, youth papers of all kinds should be col-

lected and forwarded the editorial board. Murray Dowson will be the editor, and we recommend that in addition J.Kendal and S. Jourard serve on the editorial board.

Social and Cultural.

There shall be three social affaires held, for the purpose of raising funds for the liquidation of our debts. One by each Unit, and one by the membership jointly. These to be held in the months of January and February. This does not negate the holding of affairs for the purpose of bringing contacts towards us.

Opponent Organizations.

A list of these organizations is being prepared, and members will be notified if and what organizations they are to join.

Headquarters.

We desire to approve the appearance of our Headquarters. Comrades who have any should donate pictures and other material which may lend towards making the place more attractive. A bulletin board will be obtained, and comrades are urged to save any clippings, notices etc. which may be of interest and placed thereon.

Party Representation

There shall be a Party representative in each unit, and one Party EC member to the S.Y.L. City EC. The representative to the local units to come from the local Party unit.

General

Members with contacts in the East End of the City should notify Comrade Dowson at Ly 7924.

Send in minutes regularly and promptly to the City Secretary, and any other information requested in the above.

The City EC meetings will be held regulary on Wed. evenings.

Party EC Report re J.Spector.

Comrade Kennedy reported that he had explained why we had referred J. Spector to the Party EC rather than handle the case ourselves. He explained that J. Spector had been left in the S.Y.C. when other comrades were withdrawn, to give leadership to the S.Y.C. but which he had failed to do, rather, becoming stagnant, and giving some members the impression that he had become cynical as far as the S.Y.C. was concerned. The Party EC decided that as J. Spector was not a Party member it was not up to them to deal with the case and that the S.Y.C. should handle it themselves

It was decided to call J. Spector to the next City EC meeting and ask him to explain his indifference towards the S.Y.C. and account for his irresponsible attitude.

(not M. Spector - ed.)

WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA.

No. 1. BULLETIN. March 1935.

1. At the general membership meeting of the Toronto units, held. Feb. 10th. a review of the work of the organization for the past year was made and certain organizational decisions made for the improvement of the work in the future. An Executive Committee of eleven members was elected, one to be a SYL representative. The following committees were elected, to act as provisional National Departments ;- Trade Union; Unemployment; Organization; National Agit-Prop; Toronto Agit-Prop. and Executive Secretariat.

It will propably be impractical to elect such committees in other centers for local work, owing to lack of sufficient forces, but comrades should be chosen by the membership, who will act as directors for the work of these various departments. This will faciliate and improve the work in these respective fields. These comrades must make reports to the organization containing recommendations and suggestions for the conduct of the work. This is particularly necessary for Trade union and Unemployed work. The Organization Dept. is also very important work; considering ways and means for increasing the membership of our units, conducting fraction work and establishing new cantacts in other workers organizations. We must strive to break through our narrow propagandist atmosphere and turn our face to active work in the general working class struggle, small though our forces may be.

CONSTITUTION.

A provisional Constitution has been adopted. This will be mimeographed and sent to the units immediately. It is just the bare outline of a constitution, but we consider it necessary for the disciplined conduct of our work and the laying of the frame work for a more comprehensive constitution, when we reach the stage when a national conference of the Party will be possible. We are of the opinion that we must make every effort to convene such a conference in the fall of this year.

LITERATURE.

Our work in Canada has suffered from a serious lack of literature. This is chiefly due to the fact that the authorities prohibit the entry of our literature from the United States. We have been succesaful however in obtaining a limited quantity and the comrades must do their best to get this into the hands of the workers. We decided to publish the pamphlet by L. Trotsky - The Kirov Assasination" This will be the first publication in English by the Party in Canada. The pamphlet will sell at ten cents and must be pushed with all possible energy by the Party comrades. We are in receipt of a communication from the International Secretariat requesting the organizations to do all in their power to get this material into the hands of the workers. The scandalous campaign by the Stalinists, endeavoring to implicate the " Trotskyists" with the assasination of Kirov, must be strenuously combatted and the real truth brought to the attention of the whole working class. We must not consider this attempt of Stalin to implicate us in this affair as only of passing moment. It is only the beginning of an international campaign on the part of official Stalinism against the Bolshevikk- Leninists whose ideas are penetrating the masses, not only in Capitalist countries, but in the Soviet Union itself. The Stalinist bureaucracy is endeavoring to cover up its own contradictions and difficulties, by a vicious attack on the communist internationalists. We would make a serious mistake if we concluded that this campaign finds no response among the workers, and that there is no need to explain and expose all the rottenness of the charges to the workers. We must conduct a counter-attack with all our energies. The Kirov pamphlet is necessary in this work. It is a first rate woek and will be a great service to our organization.

The National Agit-Prop. will consider the possibility of publishing further pamphlets. The need is obvious. Full support of the membership is the necessary prerequisite for the estension of this important work. If there is a quick sale and promptreturn of monies from the Kirov pamphlet, then other publications will follow. The local Agit-Prop. directors must take this work in hand and moblize the membership for the sale of this pamphlet.

We have translated an article of L.D. from the Russian Bulletin and have mimeographed this, so that our membership can have the advantage of his analysis of the situation in the USSR. We would have liked to have published this also, but out means won't allow of this. The article will be of good educational value and it is for this purpose we areputting it into your hands.

Ukrainian Work and Literature

While on the subject of literature we draw your attention to the fact that our Ukrainian Bureau has published four printed pamphlets, which sell at tens cents each. These are ; Lenin's Testament; Ten Years History of the L.O.; The Soviet Union and the 4th International; and the Kirov Assasination. Our units must pay more attention to the foreign born workers than they have hitherto. Our comrades in the West must pay greater attention to this field. These four pamphlets furnish a first class means of breaking the ground in the Ukrainian field, which is a very important sphere of work in Canada. Every attempt should be made to interest and draw the Ukrainian workers to our Party.

New Vanguard Campaign.

The comrades are receiving material from the Committee elected to conduct this campaign. We only wish here to add aur appeal to all comrades to lend every ounce of support to this work. There is no need here to stress the value of a twice monthly paper for our Party in Canada. It will raise our whole movement to a much higher level than ever before. But this can only be accomplished by the greatest devotion and self-sacfifice of all our comrades. We have capable and loyal comrades in charge of this campaign and if instructions are promptly and lyyally carried out by our units, we are sure the campaign will be successful. The Executive has decided after long and serious consideration to publish the new Vanguard at the price of three cents per copy It goes without saying that this does not meet the cost of printing by a long way. In order, however, to get the paper into the hands of as many workers as possible and to make the sale of the Vanguard as easy as possible, we decided to take the loss, in the hopes that if every obstacle is removed, from getting it into the hands of the workers, the increase of circulation and the new contacts secured, will make the load easier as time goes on. This is to a great extent in the nature of an experiement, testing out the carrying capacity of our Party. Here again the utmost cooperation will bennecessary.

MAY DAY. Wherever possible our units shouldparticipate in legitimate united front conferences for May Day demonstrations, even taking the lead where our forces and the local situation make this possible. The Party will issue a May Day Manifesto. We would appreciate reports from the outside units on arrangements being made for May Day demonstrations. If United Front conferences are being formed? What organizations are participating ? What attitude is the CCF adopting, etc, ? General reports on lab or activities to the Center are few indeed and if the Vanguard is to replect the general st struggle of the workers in the country, this defect will have to be remedied. Correspondents will have to be appointed for this work.

DOMINION ELECTION. The Federal Election will take place this year, probably in the early summer. Toronto is propably the only center where the Party has

sufficient forces to enter the election with a Party Candidate. Even here the question will have to be carefully considered. A $200.00 deposit is necessary. There is no question that such a campaign would provide the Party with a splendid opportunity of coming before the masses. $200.00 means much to us, particularly on the heels of the Vanguard campaign. Reports should be made by our organizations on the local situation and even the possibility of running candidates explored. Reports from the West would be appreciated and information as to the reaction in CCF circles of the proposed United Front by the C.P. to the CCF in the election. What developments, if any, have taken place on this proposition. Are there any agreements being made between these two Parties on the question of what seats will be contested?

Spartacus Youth League.

The Party units must turn their attention to assisting in the formation of S.Y.Ls. in their localities. Young workers who are sympathetic to our ideas should be placed in communication with the Executive of the League in Toronto. The youth field is a fertile one for our work. There are many young workers being drawn into the labor movement, who are untainted with Stalinism and are seeking for something more inpiring than the reformism of the CCF or the CCYM. These young workers are potential recruits for our Party. Suitable literature must be placed in their hands and closest comradely relations established and maintained with them, so that the nucleus of a youth league can be formed. Our young comrades in Toronto will be pleased to render any assistance whatever in this work.

Registration Forms for Members.

Accompanying this bulletin are registration forms for our membership. These must be filled in immediately and forwarded to the head office, so that we may have a true estimation of the composition of the membership, on the basis of the information sought in the form. Copies of these can be kept for local purposes. This information will be kept strictly with the Executive. The information is essential, so that we may make the best possible use politically of all our comrades.

Executive Bulletins.

The Executive has decided to issue regular Bulletins to the units. Previously the Provisional Executive has functioned to a great extent as an executive committee of the Toronto units. It will endeavor from now on to coordinate the work on a national scale anf these bulletins will contain instructions; directives; and information of the decisions of the Executive. The Executive requests that the units furnish them with a copy of the minutes of the meetings of the units, or at least a report of the activities and work conducted and decisions made. This is particularly necessary for the Toronto units. but applies also to the outside units who must begin reporting regularly to the center.

The following is a brief outline of the decisions of the first meetings of the Department Committees.

Unemployment

The reports here concern primarily the work in Toronto in the Toronto Union of Unemployed. There are three bramches of this organization.; West End. Moss Park (center) and the North End. The Stalinists have deliberatly sabotaged the work of this organization. Where they could not " capture" they have boycotted. The West end branch is in their hands. Moss Park branch is not under their control and they are doing theirutmost to break the organization. North End , a new territory, shows very favorable developments recently.

Sheet # 4. Bulletin No. 1.

Mt. Dennis

In the Township, Mt. Debis, where two of our comrades are on the Executive, the Stalinists have commensed a campaign to oust our comrades from the organization. We have one comrade on the Executive of the Silverthorn United Workers Assoc. It was decided to oppose the affiliation of these unemployed organization to the CLDL, WIR and similar organizations. Any affiliation of TUU branches with other unemployed organizations should be done only in consultation with the Central Executive of the TUU. Delegations should be exchanged between branches to familiarize each branch with the work of the other. The question of the hostels must be made a question of first consideration, particularly by Moss Park branch where many of the hostel inmates are members. A mass meeting should be arranged at an early date, in conjunction with the Trades and Labor Council is possible. In the selection of speakers to address the meetings of the branches our comrades should influence the choice of our comrades, although not to the exclusion of others, as long as they support the general organizati work of the TUU or the unemployed in general.

Trade Union Committee.

Preliminary steps in Trade Union work were considered and the following adopted.

1. General meeting of all trade union members.
2. Establishment of trade union Party fractions.
3. Question of the formation of "progressive" groups in the trade unions.
4. General meeting of progressive trade unionists, to consider general problem
5. Receiving regular reports of trade union activity and party fraction work from all units.
6. Information to units - directives, reports, etc..

Agit-Prop. Com. (Toronto)

1. That all units list public meetings in their localities and detail comrades to cover these with literature, Vanguards, etc.
2. That all members of the units be informed of study classes for the purpose of contacting new members and sympathizers for these classes. That a,list of these classes and where held be sent to each unit.
3. That each unit handle copies of the New International and that the sale of this monthly be pushed.
4. That units be instructed to report on agitational and propaganda work being done in their locality.
5. That each unit be supplied with a list of the publications obtainable from the Center.

Organization Com.

This meeting was more in the nature of a preliminary discussion and something in the nature of an Organizational Bulletin will be got out. The Toronto East end group's attention is drawn to the need for centering their attention on the Scarboro district, with the intentionn of making contacts there. The West End is doing some work in the Humberside territory. The West End, (Mt. Denis) City group should concentrate on the LakeShore district.

Study Classes. West

(record ends)

March 1, 1935

S. Y. L. Resolution on C.C. Y.M.

The main immediate task of the S.Y.L. is to aid the Workers' Party of Canada build the new revolutionary party. The specific instrument through which the young workers and students can be won for the new party is a new revolutionary youth league. Just as the Workers' Party is the new revolutionary party in Canada, so the S.Y.L. is the nucleus for the new youth league.

To accomplish this task it behooves the S.Y.L. to carefully analyze the existing workers' political youth organizations, indicate their inadequecies as militant leaders of the youth and formulate such policies as can win allies from these groups for the construction of a new youth movement.

At no time has the Young Communist League succeeded in reaching, not to speak of organizing, the large masses of young workers and students. The C.C.Y.M., however, is making a bold bid for the leadership of the Canadian youth, and it is especially necessary to examine very carefully this new development in the Canadian working class movement. The fundamental defect in both the Y.C.L. and C.C.Y.M. is their organizational and political domination by the adult parties, the Stalinist Communist Party and the C.C.F. respectively. Both parties rejecting revolutionary Marxism, are incapable of developing militant youth organizations which can win the young workers against capitalism.

The bankruptcy of Stalinism and Social Democracy in Germany and Austria, the quickening march of Fascism and the sharpening class struggle have had a profound effect on the Canadian youth. This is reflected by the tremendous growth of the C.C.Y.M. in the short few months of its existence. It is on this background that our position on the C.C.Y.M. must be drawn.

The greatest potential source of recruitment for the new revolutionary youth movement is the C.C.Y.M. Under the impact of events in Germany and Austria and the sharpening class struggle in Canada, the C.C.Y.M. has taken the opportunity to multiply numerically and increase its influence and prestige. The new young workers who have been attracted in recent months have brough with them their problems and have pressed for their solution. Above all the political bankruptcy of the Y.C.L., the official revolutionary youth organization, have permitted this lease on life for the C.C.Y.M.

The C.C.Y.M is a definite right-centrist organization; ~~in reality a reformist organization, yet it contains elements of the tendency of bankruptcy of reformism;~~ a reformist organization employing revolutionary phraseology, e.g., 'the overthrow of capitalism', 'the bankruptcy of reformism','class-conscious organization', etc., etc. It has no clear program on any of the burning issues (militarism and war, Fascism, trade union. students) or the basic issue of the road to power. Its leadership and the bulk of its membership accept the political leadership of the C.C.F., viz., 'The constitution of the C.C.Y.M. shall not violate or run counter to the spirit or the letter of the constitution of the C.C.F.' It differs essentially from the C.C.F., however, in the fact that it adopted a program of immediate demands at its first convention. An age limit of 35 guarantees the C.C.F. an artificial control of its youth organization. Within the ranks a serious interest is developing towards the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement.

Not a year old, it claims a national membership of 5,000; 1,500 i Ontario; 300 in Toronto. The groups are scattered about the country with very loose organizational connections. As yet its strength lie

chiefly in Ontario and British Columbia. It undoubtedly has good possibilities for growth, particularly with the increased influence of the C.C.F. and its own increased propaganda and activity. This potential growth is seriously limited precisely because of the reformist program of the C.C.F., and its own confused policies.

The progressive character of the leftward drift of the Canadian youth, mirrorred in the rapid growth of the C.C.Y.M., offers excellent opportunities for the Spartacus Youth League. The future of our movement depends a great deal on the effectiveness of our forms and methods af work. To date we have succeeded in establishing a small fraction in several units of the C.C.Y.M. in and around Toronto. Our fraction work must be developed cauthously, but at the same time without delay. The S.Y.L. despite its small and handicapped organization must make every effort to establish friendly relations with the C.C.Y.M., above all with the members. Debates, united front actions, etc., should be fostered by our units. The Young Militant, particularly, should play an important part in this work.

An especially important part of our C.C.Y.M. work is the question of internationalism. We should continually pose the international aspect of working class problems and the subsequent necessity for international ties and connections. Thus will present itself an excellent opportunity for popularizing the "International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations," with headquarters at Stockholm, Sweden. This Buro, which grew out of the Luxembourg conference held some few months ago must march ahead to the formation of the new youth international. As a section of this Buro, it is our profound duty to work concretely to build the new youth organization in Canada under the banner of the 4th International. In this regard it becomes necessary to explain the general bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, and their youth section

While there is displayed a growing interest in the problems of the revolutionary movement, there is a marked antipathy towards the Y.C.L. The Stalinist youth are looked upon as disrupters and disorganizers, and this feeling has been exploited by the leadership as an excuse to postpone indefinitely the question of the United Front. As yet the C.C.Y.M. has no position on this major tactic. We must take advantage of every opportunity to press for united ~~front~~ action on specific issues; our proposals, while directed to the leadership must be coupled with a constant agitation amongst the rank and file. We must realize that the membership are composed in the great majority of sincere young workers anxious to further the cause of socialism.

Such questions~~x~~ as: (1) Internationalism

(2) Reduction of age-limit

(3) United Front

(4) Clear position on War, Fascism

(5) Industrial Work

(6) Student Work, etc., etc.,

will constitute the major part of our fraction work. This, coupled with mass meetings, Young Militant articles, debates and friendly contacts between S.Y.L. and C.C.Y.M. members will guarantee the steady growth of our ideas in the C.C.Y.M.

We must clearly understand that as yet we are not the new revolutionary youth league, but only the nucleus for the creation of it. The C.C.Y.M. at present is the guage which measures the radicalization of the Canadian youth. In it are containted the most militant and developed young workers in the country. We must devote a great part of our attention to this organization. In the coming months the C.C.Y.M. wil experience great internal struggles. The left-wing today is weak and disorganized; centred chiefly around the issue of the United Front.

must organize this left-wing and give it guidance and leadership. Out of the C.C.Y.M. may come the basis for the launching of the new revolutionary youth league in Canada.

.....

READ THE
VANGUARD

320 SPADINA AVENUE
ROOM 2

Workers' Party of Canada

TORONTO, ONT.

May 18th 1935

V. Suomela
Sec'y " Vapaa Sana"
36 Willison Sq.
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Comrades:

For over a year's time the Workers Party of Canada has published an official organ " The Vanguard". This has been published once a month and has been got out by the voluntary labor of our comrades.

We decided some months ago that this was entirely inadequate for the work that lay before us in the labor movement in Canada. A decision was made, to put on a campaign to raise a fund so as to make it possmible to issue the Vanguard at least twice a month.

Our forces in Canada are small compared with other organizatio and only the loyalty and self-sacrifice of our comrades has made this fund possible. We have not yet reached our objective but have determined that we can't delay longer and intend publishing the firt issue of the new Vanguard by the first of June. We have come to an agreement to have the paper printed at the Vapaa Sana plant.

We are aware that the comrades interested in the Vapaa Sana are devoted to the international struggle of the working class for the abolition of capitalism and are interested in the spread of true working class propaganda and education. The Workers Party of Canada is part of that International Sextion of the working class which believes, that both the 2nd. and 3rd. Internationals are bankrupt and that a new 4th internation -al is necessary. The Communist Party of Canada (Stalinist)has marked out our Party for one of the most vicious and lying campaigns imaginable. They publish their paper The Worker three times per week and it is impossibl for us to in any way meet their campaign with the small official organ we have had up till the present. We trust we will take a long step in meeting this sitiatipn by publishing our organ twice a month to start off with and be able soon to publish once per week.

In our campaign we have appealed to all truly revolutionary elements to assist us. Till now we havem not approached the Finnish comrades. We do so now with confidence that we will receive some assistance or donation from you. We want of course to leave this matter entirely to you, but we might suggest that if probably you are not in a position to give actual financial assistance, that something in the nature of a contribuation on the printing might be arranged. We can assuree you that any donation you find it possible to make will be greatly appreciated by the comrades of our Party and that it will be of great assistance to us in our work. Trusting your comrades will consider this request favorably.

We are comradely yours,
For the Workers Party of Can.
J. MacDonald. Secy

Jack MacDonald

Maurice Spector

CIRCULAR LETTER #2 Oct. 26/35.

All Branches of the Spartacus Youth League:

It is unfortunate that the contents of Letter #1 was not as clear as it might have been. Firstly, it was our intention to send a condensed report on the International Youth Buro, and so we asked for a running translation of the European letter. The Secretary then changed his mind, and the results were a rather hazy, in some parts rather unintelligible, report. The City Committee (Toronto) has asked us to include a short report on the same question in this letter. For further reference, we refer you to the "New Militant" Vol. I, No. 43, Oct. 19, 1935, where a detailed report is published.

The report on The League Against War & Fascism, containing as it did, an account of the numerous labor organizations in this country, was wanting, because our membership is not clear on the exact nature and role of these organizations. As a result, we have detailed our educational director to prepare a paper containing a synopsis of the program, social composition, etc., of the various Canadian labor organizations. This will be submitted to the units when completed.

Several bulletins in French and German have arrived during the past week, and are now in the process of being translated. This information will likewise be sent you when ready. Our translating facilities are very limited, and as a result, this is a slow and laborious task. We trust the branches will understand this, if reports reach you at a late date.

AGENDA
1. Youth Buro.
2. French Youth.
3. Publications.
4. War Situation.
5. Vancouver.

1. YOUTH BURO As was reported in the last letter, the buro no longer exists. To be brief, it was predominantly centrist in composition, the I.C.L. representing the only Leninist position. The S.J.V. (youth section of the German Socialist Workers Party) held the balance between ourselves on the left, and the Swedish youth and Mot Dag (Norway) on the extreme right. The latter, by the way, supports the bourgeois politics of the reactionary Norwegian Labor Party, now in power. The S.J.V. declared that their differences with Mot Dag were not nearly so fundamental and deepgoing as their differences with the I.C.L.; that it was impossible to continue working with the "disloyal factionalists" of the I.C.L. Our delegate, Walter Held, was forced to leave. All that remains of the Youth Buro is some right centrist rubbish, whom we mistakenly thought we could influence in association with us. We must now orientate the organisations of the international youth inside the framework of the Fourth International.

2. FRENCH YOUTH Our comrades report undeniable progress. While the Boulogne Congress mustered a heterogeneous majority against us, a bloc of three tendencies (Zeller, Bol-Len., Spartacus) actually has the majority on the basis of clear revolutionary slogans--(Workers' Militia, Arming of the People, General Strike, Down with all national defense, Against the holy union, Revolutionary Defeatism, etc.) It is only on the international plan that there are any differences: All agree in declaring the bankruptcy of the 2nd International, some

sanctioning a New International (The Spartacus led by the S.A.P.), while the Bol-Len's declare the necessity for a 4th International.

The Stalinists who had sent the leaders of the Y.C.I. and of the Russian Y.C.L. (Tchemodanoff and Kossaret) to plot with the leaders of the revolutionary minority of the Young Socialists, in persuading them of the necessity of "Defending the USSR by every means", understanding thereby National Defence and refusal to make their own revolution, and who have vainly tried to buy over a leader of the Young Socialists since his return from the USSR, have completely failed in the Young Socialists. Their motion demanding the expulsion of the Trotskyites got only 27 votes out of more than 400. In Seine and Aso the Bol-Len motion even got the majority.

Since these events nine of the "left" leaders have been expelled, including the most influential of our comrades. Our press has been carrying detailed accounts of this.

"The "Left" of the S.F.I.O (Pivert) sees in the split only an episode, protests against bureaucratism, solidarizes itself with those expelled, but relies on legal proceedings. The rupture in the Bataille Socialiste tendency, between Pivert and Zyromski is accomplished. A new stage begins in the SFIO, the desperate struggle of the Right and of the apparatus, upheld by the Stalinists, against the whole revolutionary wing, up to the point of a split. This is what the Piverts who cling to the watchword: 'unity', do not want to see. It is not excluded that in the Federation of the Seine, the Bol. Len. tendency and the Pivert tendency will go a short distance together (seize the leadership of the Federation, ordinary mass organ, etc.). We must from now on, take the orientation towards INEVITABLE INDEPENDENCE, AT FIRST IN THE YOUTH, WHERE IT IS ON THE ORDER OF THE DAY, THEN WITH THE ADULTS. (our emphasis H.K.) All the time while demanding their reinstatement pure and simple, the expelled youth must continue and amplify their outside work."

From IOL minutes, August 5, 1935.

3. PUBLICATIONS Trotsky's letter has been distributed.--50 to Vancouver, 100 to Toronto; the other 150 are on hand. We expect every comrade to dispose of these within the next few weeks. The .2¢ per copy will enable us to publish another bulletin of similar importance.

The CCF pamphlet is only half mimeographed. Technical help is holding us back. We would like each unit (Toronto) to send in at least two names of individuals who would like to learn mimeographing.

The Publication Fund (What is SYL) has $2.39 to-date. The entire amount was contributed by the centre unit, the result of a successful social. We call on the other branches to do their share. $25.00 is needed to ensure publication. Meanwhile the pamphlet lies in our files and grows dusty with age. Financial aid is needed, now, immediately, otherwise the pamphlet will become outdated. Toronto undertook to raise the funds--we know they will not fall down on this undertaking.

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4. WAR SITUATION The war crisis intensifies daily. The newspapers carry glowing accounts of the battles in Ethiopia, and so emphasize the question of War. We must exploit this situation to the utmost. England and the League may succeed in localizing the war area. It is not without the bounds of possibility that concessions may be granted, of a character sufficiently large to stop Mussolini. Of course, it is just as possible, that the crisis may be the spark for a new world war, spreading to Europe and elswhere--(Germany to the SU or France; Japan going still further into China, etc.). It would be foolish to say definitely one way or the other. But regardless, there is one definite, immediate task that confronts us. We must take advantage of what is taking place. Our ideas find a most fertile field in great historical crises. One months' intensive activity and propaganda to-day can represent a year's activity of yesterday. Mass meetings, just as often as possible, are on the immediate order of the day. The N.C. will collaborate with the Toronto membership, financially and otherwise, in order to make this possible. We have asked for help from the Party, and they will do everything that is possible. If we are ever to gain the youth to our program and organization, we must do it now.

Meanwhile the NC continues to work in the League against War and Fascism, acting as a disciplined caucus, in conjunction with the Party and a couple of other left wing grouping who also have a revolutionary position on the war question. At the same time we are taking the necessary step to launch an independent conference against war. A manifesto was drawn up and distributed at the last session of the League. We submit below excerpts from the NC minutes of Oct. 21st:

"Johnstone reported on League session held Friday, Oct. 18th at Labor Temple. Other delegate-Kennedy. Session called to discuss Program of Action, flowing out of decision to support League of Nations in economic sanctions. Our delegates moved a preamble to this Program, 'for independent working class action, etc.' which was ruled out of order. We also attempted to amend section dealing with 'setting up of shop committees' as follows: 'for purpose of sabotaging Italian shipments and facilitating Ethiopian shipments'; also ruled out of order. The chairman's arbitrary and bureaucratic manner evoked opposition, even from some Stalinites present. At the conclusion of the 'Program' McLeod made a vitriolic personal attack on the Spartacus delegates. He said that 'Kennedy & Johnstone were only a couple of adolescents, representing nobody but themselves, who have been politically and mentally raped by Spector and MacDonald, etc. etc.'. This time the chairman could not stop our reply, and McLeod was handled very effectively. The question of Military sanctions was then forced. M.Cohen (of our caucus) moved 'unalterable opposition'. McLeod seconded this. This gave us the opportunity to discuss the whole question of the League of Nations, etc. We abstained for obvious reasons, (It is pacifism to support League in Econ. Sanc. and stop at military--our position is that the two are inseparable--H.K.) and most of the Stalinites present did likewise. The motion was carried about 10 to nothing The session then adjourned. Further action to be discussed in conjunction with Party and Caucus." (quoted verbatim from NC SYL minutes)

5. VANCOUVER Two sets of minutes have been received. There are 10 members and the unit is getting into action very quickly. Our fraction in the Young Socialist League has been instructed to fight for fusion on a revolutionary program only, and to oppose it on an equivocal base. This question is now on the order of the day in B.C. Further reports to follow.

The CCYM in BC is also ready to discuss fusion, and it goes without saying that our fraction there will also fight for the same program. Their organization is much more to the left of the CCYM in Ontario and elsewhere, and are independent of the CCF.

The Vancouver unit is establishing fraternal relations with the American Spartacus units on the Pacific coast, as most of the problems are similar. They are preparing the publication of a paper.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

NATIONAL COMMITTEE (PROVISIONAL)

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA.

H. Kennedy,
Secretary.

THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA

Issued by National Committee

Circular Letter # 3. December 4, 1935.

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1. DUES SYSTEM The financial problem has been weighing down the national office for a good many months. For nearly two months no money has been turned in. Toronto claims that they are carrying all the practical work. Vancouver claims it is not in a position to pay dues. Which leaves us nothing, and that is not enough to carry on work. We are unable to publish, because the treasury is empty. A conference demands fees, we are made ineligible for we have none. Rent is needed; letters are held up for want of stamps. And so it goes. It is impossible to carry on. The N.C. had a thorough discussion of the situation, and the following system has been adopted. Not only Toronto, but Vancouver will have to pay as well. They will simply have to put their shoulders to the wheel, and if they are worth a grain of salt, they will see to it that national dues are paid.

(a) Every member to be registered by December 20th.
(b) Dues books and Stamps to be issued by January 1st.
(c) Plan

	Members from Branches	Branches from CC.	C.C. or Branches from N. C.
Employed	.50	.45	.25
Student	.25	.20	.10
Unemployed	.10	.10	.05
Dues book	.10	.10	.10

As you see above, three denominations of stamps will be issued, a fifty, a twenty-five and a ten. The first is for employed, the second for students and employed who earn under ten dollars weekly, and the ten for unemployed. Vancouver and the Toronto C.C. will buy stamps from the N.C., for .25, 10 and 05 respectively. Vancouver will sell the stamps for the regular price to its members, but in Toronto where there is more than one branch, each unit is entitled to a small share of the dues, as above.

(d) A regular organizational fee should be levied on all employed comrades by the C.C., in order to help carry the practical work. The N.C. will attempt to carry on for the next few months on the above basis, and will do its best to avoid special levies. This latter can only be avoided if the dues are remitted to the national office promptly.
(e) Members 3 months in arrears are in bad standing and cannot vote.
(f) Steps are being taken for a national tour for the party with the possibility of a conference at the conclusion of the tour. This will give us an opportunity for a national convention at the same time if our progress warrants it. Unless members are registered and paid up, they will not be represented.
(g) Stamps will be advanced in proportion to membership one month in advance. Auditing should be done regularly - NC of CC books; CC of branch books. This system to be ~~introduced~~ Jan. 1. 1936.

The

C. C. Y.

and the

C A N A D I A N Y O U T H

Issued by

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA

DECEMBER 1935

Price 2 cents

VOL. I No. 2

THE C.C.F. AND CANADIAN YOUTH

The last election results were by no means a startling revelation. What do these results signify? A radical opposition to the present crisis; a growing upheaval against capitalism. True, the bourgeoisie have a safety valve for this dangerous condition, in the usual 'ins and outs' of the two-party system, in a lot of sugar-coated promises of better conditions, labor codes, and what not, but only for the time being. It won't take long for the masses to realize that they were fooled again. And when that timescomes, we shall be at the most crucial period in the history of the Canadian working class. That will mark the highest peak of the crisis in this country. The fate of the Canadian workers will be decided at that moment. If they once more grab blindly for a program that cannot solve the capitalist crisis, it is not too pessimistic to say that Fascism will grind them into the dust for decades.

The Alberta Social Creditors have just been swept into office. An intensive agitation with a program based on the miserable plight of the Western farmer was the reason for their success. Their maximum program revolves around the control of money and credit. They refuse to see the real root cause of the capitalist crisis, the fetters of private property. They will not encroach on the rights of property and ownership. As a result, all their legislation can only be enacted through the consent of the ruling class. The hopelessness of attempting to socialize credit under capitalism is made manifest before the last ballot has been cast. The first and immediate result of the Alberta election has been a tremendous drain on the deposits of the Provincial Bank; so much so, that to prevent complete bankruptcy, the government had to suspend the redemption of savings certificates. All other cure-alls, all other bourgeois democratic programs are foredoomed to a like failure.

Of particular interest to the young socialists of this country is the C.C.F. Its program, with its fourteen steps to socialism, should be examined in great detail. The fairly rapid growth of this party in the few years of its existence is no more a sign of the correctness of its program, than are the recent elections a sign of the correctness of the winning parties. A close scrutiny of the C.C.F. reveals five fundamental weaknesses, five vulnerable spots which prove beyond a shadow of a doubt, the utter impossibility of this party leading the Canadian workers to socialism.

I WAR It is on this life-and-death question of questions that the C.C.F. falls down most miserably. By taking an utterly unrealistic position of mere neutrality in the event of another Great War, the C.C.F. will render the workers helpless and impotent before the gigantic war-machine. Because the European and American forerunners of the C.C.F. did not understand, or where they knew better, did not teach the only true method of fighting war - that of revolutionary struggle to overthrow capital-

ism and set up workers' governments in the warring countries - they came to serve the function of recruiting sergeants for the respective "Fatherlands". The C.C.F. is headed down the same road.

II INTERNATIONALISM The working class is international. The C.C.F. is nationalistic. The interests of the workers of one country is identical with the interests of the workers of every other country. This makes necessary the uniting of the socialist vanguard of every country into one international organization. The C.C.F. speaks of ushering in a socialism "peculiarly adapted to Canada and Canadian conditions", and have no international affiliations whatsoever. Because Canada is not self-sufficient and does not exist in a vacuum, but is part of a world economic unit, important events in other countries have their immediate repercussions in Canada. The scope and activity of the C.C.F., limited as it is to the national field, is insufficient to fight world capitalism.

III CLASS COMPOSITION The C.C.F. is dominated by small business men, professional people and farmers. It has no trade union following to speak of. Why? Because it has religiously refused to enter into economic struggles. It does not take seriously the necessity of unionizing workers. It was only on the eve of an election, when the Bennett government was restricting civil liberties, (The Regina Incident) that the C.C.F. condescended to help the unemployed. And it is obvious to anyone that they were forced into this, in order to keep face with the workers. So long as the C.C.F. sticks to the narrow path of parliamentarism and refuses to act outside parliament, so long will its working class following be limited. The C.C.F., failing to see the field of economic struggle as a school for socialism, fails to act in the interests of the workers.

In view of its make-up then, and its attitude towards independent militant action by the working class, it is in keeping that it should expel its left wing. Individuals or groups who dare raise their voices in opposition to official policy, who dare suggest a more militant program, are immediately silenced by expulsion. If the C.C.F., in its present stage of development will not tolerate internal criticism, if today it cuts off the Left, what will happen if it grows stronger, if a parliamentary victory becomes a possibility?

IV ORGANIZATION The fundamental weakness in the machinery of the C.C.F. is its organizational make-up. Built on the usual style of social democratic organizations, which flows from the very nature of the program, the party is a loose, poorly disciplined, heterogeneous mass. Even the individuals of the national leadership have different conceptions of the program. This hap-hazard, decentralized organization can never move quickly and firmly in times of crisis. Because of the nature of capitalism, because the ruling class will do everything in its power to hang on to its privileged position, it is necessary for the socialist vanguard to be a closely-knit, well-dis-

ciplined party capable of adjusting itself to new situations overnight, a party based on complete and unqualified internal democracy, but with a centralized organization and leadership.

V THE QUESTION OF POWER The most important weakness of the C.C.F., the one that shades the others into insignificance, is the question of political power. Granting the C.C.F. the possibility of a majority in the Federal house, a very doubtful possibility, the C.C.F. would still have no real political power. The Senate could balk it in its every attempt. Well, then, it would have to abolish the Senate, because it stands today, and, it is estimated, for at least the next fifteen years, with a Conservative majority. In order to abolish the Senate, it would have to amend the B.N.A. Act. Already this involves a struggle with Great Britain. The powers of the Federal House are limited. The provinces have complete control of certain fields. The C.C.F. would have to win a majority in every provincial house as well. The Judiciary is quite a problem. They interpret the laws of the country. Without exception they are hide-bound reactionaries whose interests are in direct opposition to socialism. They would have to be fired, and a new set of judges appointed. The police and the army see that the laws are carried out. You can rest assured the Canadian Big Business ruling class has seen to it that the representatives of "law and order" are loyal to their employers. Dismiss them, and form an army and police force of workers? Be careful now, that smacks of Bolshevism! The huge civil service bureaucracy is another problem. Yes, comrades, you too will agree, that a condition of civil war will inevitably follow any attempt at socialization; that between a parliamentary majority and real political power lies a great gap that only a revolutionary program can bridge.

The fact is, the C.C.F. is nothing new. Parties of a like character have existed for decades, and there is much we can learn from their history. The parties of social democracy (Reformism) have left an indelible stamp on the history of the labor movement. The Second International and its affiliated organizations grew up and thrived on this brand of philosophy in the latter part of the 19th century. In the heyday of capitalism, when there was still room for profitable expansion of capital, reformism undoubtedly played a progressive role. It organized in its parties millions of workers, tens of millions in its trade unions. It led the workers through heroic struggles and bettered their standard of living. Capital tolerated socialdemocracy; it could afford to appear magnanimous and grant concessions to labor; because it wrung tremendous profits from its colonial empires. But the dawn of the 20th century ushered in the epoch of imperialism. The entire world was parcelled out to the giants of capital; there was no more room for 'peaceful' expansion. It could only take place at the expense of one or the other of the great nations.

Came the Great War. A war, not for democracy, but rather for a re-division of colonies, of 'spheres of influence'. To support this war of imperialism was in direct opposition to the

interests of the working class. To adopt a passive attitude to this war of imperialism was a betrayal of the working class. But the parties of social democracy, without exception, voted for war credits and support of the Fatherland. Instead of intensifying the struggle against capitalism, which a war situation demands because of the sharpening class struggle, because of the revolutionary sentiments which the misery and destruction creates in the minds of the masses, instead of this Social Democracy called a moratorium on the class struggle during the war period. Posterity shall brand this as the greatest historical betrayal of socialism! This event marked the death of the Second International and social reformism. It now became an obstacle to working class development.

And yet, whereas these pa rties had a militant pacifist approach to war, e.g., their slogan "War on War" and the threat of a general strike, which in no way prevented them rushing to the defence of "their" particular fatherlands; the C.C.F. has a purely pacifist approach to war which will ensure their falling victim to the first wave of jingoistic propaganda.

But these parties did not disappear. Because of their loyalty to capitalism, they were rewarded with ministries, influential positions and rich coffers. They remained unburied in order to betray the working class again and again.

Came the crisis. The collapse of the German Reichsbank, closely followed by the Wall street crash spread panic through the entire world. Capital had lost confidence in the stability of capitalism and credit was as scarce as straw hats in the Arctic. Six years of the most terrible poverty and demoralization have ensued; and the horizon is not one whit brighter today. The capitalist crisis brought with it the rapid development of a new phenomenon; a new threat to the working class--Fascism. Unable to stem the rising discontent of the working and impoverished middle classes through the ordinary channels of parliaments and democracy, finance capital is compelled to rule with an iron hand. In order to stabilize its position, it must drive down ever lower and lower the living standard of the working masses. This can only be done by a complete wiping out of the workers' economic and political organizations. So Monopoly Capital, making use of the impoverished , maddened middle class and the backward workers and slum elements, organizes the forces of reaction outside parliament. At the first opportune moment Fascism makes its bid for power - witness Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain, with France next on the historical order of the day.

But where does social democracy stand? True to its past, it stands for defeat. Let us examine the role of the S.P.D. (Social Democratic Party of Germany) because it is the classic example of reformism. It was the largest and most influential ma ss party of the Second International. At the time of the Hitler coup it mustered the support of 15 million German workers. Yet it fell helpless at the feet of the Nazi onslaught without so much as a single blow raised in defence of its institutions and rights.

Why was this so? Numerically it was stronger than any Socialist party could possibly hope to be. Yet it was foredoomed to failure, not in an honorable defensive fight, but in shameful capitulation. Why? Because its program, like the C.C.F.'s in Canada, did not have a correct position with regard to the bourgeois state, (democracy) and consequently, the method of achieving power. Because its struggle for socialism, like the C.C.F.'s was limited to the parliamentary field. And when the bourgeosie, precisely because of this socialist threat, discards its Parliament, the poor, bewildered social democrats are helpless. Then to take to struggle? A noble thought, but it is too late. The party and the workers are not prepared for it - the Fascists are. Today the S.P.D. is a sorry remnant of what it once was. Its leaders in concentration camps, (those who have not yet met the executioners) its halls closed up, its press confiscated, its trade unions liquidated, it bears the same fate as the rest of the German working class organizations. Tpday it serves only one good function - a tragic example to the working class of all countries.

And what of England? Good old democratic Great Britain. The British Labor Party you must admit, is very close to the C.C.F. It has already tasted 'political power'. It has already had a parliamentary majority. And what did it do? It increased the standing army in India and successfully quelled in bloody slaughter the movement in that country for national liberation from English imperialism. In the interest of the good old British tradition that every British subject has the right to work, it protected the scabs in the great Transport workers strike in London. It betrayed, with the able aid of Stalinism, the general strike in 1926. Perhaps we could find a few more examples of its 'socialist' accomplishments. But then, why crucify the poor party?

The Socialist Parties of Italy and Spain met similar fates to that of the S.P.D. But Austria is the best example of all. Here was an unusual situation. Whereas the German party could hide behind the skirts of the splitting tactics of the Communist Party, in Austria there was no such opportunity. There was no Communist Party to speak of - all social democracy. The party had the support of two-thirds of the Vienna population; 40% of the entire country. It had a long record of socialist successes. Every socialist pointed with pride to Austria, in comparison with the barbaric Russian method. Karl Marx apartment houses; sport centers; cultural centers; powerful trade unions; a Schutzbund of 10,000 (workers' militia); everything in fact, but real political power. And what happened? At the first offensive of Fascism all this fell apart like a house of cards. The Schutzbund was dissolved, the ballot taken away, and all the party could do was protest mildly that capital had better not provoke the working class. True, the Austrian workers fought back. But of what avail? It was a hopeless gesture, defeated at the outset. Without leadership, without preparation, what chance did these heroic workers have?

The February struggle in Austria, although defeated in advance

by social democratic leadership, was a mighty example of the courage and fighting determination of the working class at bay. It stands today as a beacon light and guide to the workers of all countries. It paints in glaring letters the utter collapse of social democracy - from every point of view. Not only program - but its membership, its apparatus, everything. And the C.C.F. blinding itself to these irrefutable historical lessons, is preparing, with the same program of illusions, a similar fate for the Canadian workers.

Marx called the state the executive committee of the ruling class.. Never was truer word penned. The state is the product of irreconcilable class differences. It is the organ of class domination, an organ for the oppression of one class by another. The bourgeois "democratic" state is the means whereby capitalism has, until now, been best able to carry on its life work, the extracting of profits from wage-labor. And all its institutions have been set up by the ruling class for the express purpose of maintaining this relation of classes. To attempt to socialize property with the apparatus of bourgeois state institutions is to live in a world of dreams.

A correct appreciation of the state and its role in society leaves the socialist with but one conclusion. It is necessary to annihilate and break up from every point of view this all-powerful instrument of oppression. This overthrow of bourgeois rule can be accomplished only by the working class. Because of its economic role in large-scale production, it is the only force capable of leading all the oppressed masses. But this, you say, would bring chaos and anarchy! Correct, but we do not stop there. The proletariat must seize power and then transform the means of production into state property. This leads inevitably to the necessity of the political rule of the proletariat, of its dictatorship. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible only if the proletariat becomes the ruling class, able to crush the inevitable counter-revolutionary resistance of the expropriated and dispossessed capitalist class. It is absurd to expect the class which has stained the pages of history red with the blood of labor struggles and imperialist wars, all for the sake of greater profit, to give up, not merely profits, but its very right to property, because the electorate have seen fit to demand it. The parasite classes can be relied upon not to relinquish their sacrosanct right to 'property' until they are confronted with a power greater than that which they have at their command. The working class will need a state, a centralized organization of force, yes, of violence, both for the purpose of retaining its newly won resources and for the purpose of guiding the masses to socialism. This state will only be a transitional institution. With the gradual absorption of all classes into production, and when the bourgeois slogans, 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' will have been realized, the state will disappear and men, in a classless society will finally be freed from political and economic oppression.

C.C.F. Moves to Exploit B.C.'s Radical Youth

The Socialist Party of Canada (B.C. section) and the Associated C.C.F. Clubs, the two links that form the C.C.F. here in B.C. have decided to merg into one body - - Soon, this act will actually be accomplished at a conventi As a result of this move the CCF will be a stronger, more disciplined and efficient body in the coming federal elections. However, even with an excel senior body, the executives realize, that there is another factor to be organized for a successful election campaign---the Youth.

There are two youth bodies in B.C. that enjoy a fraternal relationship with the C.C.F., the CCYM and the Y.S.L.; the organizational structure and political party or group--- As individuals, theymembers can support any party or group they see fit, thus they are adherents to many sections and parties in the revolutionary movement, while the organization is tied to nor (Note: The CCYM was organized to be the CCF youth body, but the B.C. Sectior have been more or less ignored by the CCF, due to their dominant leftist attitude. The move was a failure in the eyes of the CCF executives. The CCYM in B.C. is not officially connected with the CCF).

Now, that the elections are in sight, the executives of the CCF are ou get these two organizations for their campaigners. Formerly, the youth as individuals gave almost all of their support to the CCF and so there was no need of a direct affiliation between the youth and the seniors. Now, howeve this support looks to be lagging in numbers, but of more importance still, a their present rate of political developement the youth in both the CCYM and the Y.S.L. will soon be in advance of and in opposition to the utopian, pet bourgeois policy and program of the CCF. Realizing this, the more awake of executive politicians of the CCF are moving to bag the two bodies, the YSL a CCYM, as an official junior CCF body. In this move they hope to both merge submerge the Y.S.L. and C.C.Y.M. Failing this one of the C F exec-politicia -tends to organize an Official CCF Youth group in opposition to these bodie cutting off their fraternal support. According to information on hand, tha is the move to be made---whether it will be carried through to the finish c not remains to be seen.

Moves of this kind have been made before, by more or less the same gro The organization of the Federated Council of Youth and the intentions back of the CCYM? t its inception, are historical proof. The CCY and the YSL ha the organization and the prestige to withstand this siege----that has been ved! They can if they desire hold to their organization and principles, for CCF will find it hard to organize a fairly strong youth body of their own a impossible to organize an effective opposition to them.

The CCY is developing into a fine organization both in quality and quan and its affiliation with the YSL has prooved advantageous for both bodies.

They YSL is a fine, democratic and able structure for carrying on revol
ionary work. For developing the political understanding of its members and

followers, it is unsurpassed; Its anti sectionalist attitude
open minded discussion on tactics gives it a place in the vanguard of the
revolutionary movement, that no other arganization can take: It is the ideal
revolutionary student body. It would be a shame for these bodies to be subme
in the interests of the CCF or anyone party or group.

2.

To our comrades, of the YSL and CCY in B.C. we say---Hold the fort, boys.

Signed

.....Spartacus...

S.Y.L. Vancouver.

An analysis of the CCYM and the work of the SYL perppectives etc.

With particular regard to the CCYM convention (provincial) and the future work of the Spartacus Youth League. and an answer to the problem of whether we should liquidate the SYL into the CCYM.

by Les. Clark National Opponents Director SYL

Leader of SYL — went to live in the States and dropped out of politics

In considering our policy towards the CCYM, we must look at the question from all its angles and taking into consideration quite a number of factors the more important of which are the following.

1. Capitalist economy as a world system, and the present stage of development of Canadian capitalism, and a general consideration of the relationship of forces on an international as well as national scale.

2. The role that Stalinism, reformism and centrism are playing on a world scale with particular regard to Canada.

3. The CCYM itself-1. its influence both qualitatively and quantitatively.
   2. its influence on the CCF and vice versa.
   3. the effect of the recent turn of the YCI and CI are having on the CCYM
   4. the general relationship of forces in the CCYM- right wing, opportunists and careerists Stalinists and the left-wing (right centrists and left centrists)
   5. The social composition of the CCYM
   6. The political level of the members.
   7. The activity of the CCYM.
   8. The attitude of the leftward-moving elements towards the SYL
   9. The work of the Krehm group in the CCYM

4. The condition of the WP and the SYL at the present time.
   1. The activity (or lack of it) that is being carried on)
   2. The influence (or lack of it) that we have.
   3. A consideration of the membership itself both of the WP and the SYL.
   4. The Vanguard- need for support etc.
   5. In relation to the SYL- its nature and relations with the Party.

1. Capitalist economy as a world system is on the dedline, there is no necessity ~~xxxxx~~ to go into the details of this . Canadian capitalism nowever is comparatively recent and for several reasons has not exhausted itself to the extent that the older countries have. I t is not torn with the internal contradictions , that are keeping the older capitalist countries in a continual state of economic crises and political overturns. As yet the vast majority of the populati n is keeping to the old two-party system. In Canada their is no pre- revolutionary situati n, the vast majority of the youth as well as the adult workers are not organized into,any kind of working class organizations, and are not taking a great deal of interest by and large in international developments.
Although the working class on the internation l field has in the last 12 years sufferd defeat after defeat and the forces of reaction have been victorious , this has not had a direct effect on the majority of the Canadian masses.

2. Social democracy as a political movement gows up and flourishes in a developing capit list system, which can hand out concessions to the workers and gives credence to the belief that this can continue, peacefully getting more and more"hand-outs" until they have ~~everything~~ finally achieved socialism by this gradual process. The World War that marked the beginning of the decline of capit lism, undermined and knocked the props from under this theory as has the rise of fescism in several countries . ~~Only~~ The role of the CI and the YCI has been not so much to take advantage of this but instead by their zig-zag policies have been the main prop of Soacial-Democracy throughout the world to-day, and we find that due to these policies Social-Democracy has been able to play their despicable role of pacifying the workers and leading them unarmed to the slaughter so to speak.
This too has had its effect although not so marked on the Canadian sphere there is no law that says the workers of each country must go through the developments of Social Democracy before they become Communists for even in the fight for the smallest concession they come ~~up~~ face to face with the forces of capitalism- police, militia etc and learn quickly that everything they get has to be fought for and even if Social Democracy in the form of the CCF does have momentary succes ses , it is evident that if the CCF keeps to the old ideas of parliamentarism and peaceful methods, they will as the class struggle sharpens either develop more to the left or lose more and more their support in the masses who will relize much quicker than they have in the older countries that the program and policies of the CCF are not sufficient to gain even small concessions let alone take over control of the industries, and if a real revolutionary party is in existence it cannot only help this, left wing development by constant explanation, and by driving home the fact to this left wing that a split will inevitably take place between the right wing and the left, but it can and must help it by conducting a vigorous organizational campaign on its own hook, and by clearly exposing all that is weak and vacillating in the tactics of this left wing, of course this does not mean that this revolutionary party at the same time must not conduct a unceasing agitation against the theories of social democracy itself.
Stalinism is playing a most despicable role at the present time not only on a world scale but here in Canada,it is more dangerous than the CCYM to the the development of the Canadian masses, at this time, when war is rapidly approaching,when the masses are just beginning to develop and when more particularly, there is signs of a left-wing developing in the CCYM(even more than the CCF) the YCL following its parent organization into the morassof social- patriotism

is trying to act as a brake on this development, is strangling to the best of its ability the leftward moving elements, in this it is not particularly successful , but their recent turn is and will have an effect especially in those place and among those groups which do not know of its previous "3rd. period " policies. An unceasing exposing of the policies of the Stalinists must be carried on by our organization. We must seek to discredit them at every opportunity and show how even now they are combining with the right elements against the left everywhere.

Centrism is another development that we cannot afford to gloss over. Centrism , always vacillating between Marxism and reformism, unwilling to take decisive steps towards revolutionary policies, acting as a buffer and as apologists to reformism in many cases, has to be drivem forward to a clear position on all the important questions facing the working class, particularly on the international question, Centrism as shown in the recent expulsion of Held from the Stockholm Youth Buro always criticises the ICL much more strongly than does it criticise the "left" socialist groups, it combines with them at every opportunity against us. Only by constantly exposing the sterile policies of this centrist tendency wherever it exists can we drive it and the left-socialist groups farther along the road to the 4th Int. In the various Socialist Parties throughout the world to-day there is a great ferment taking place particularly in the the youth, the left-wings in these organizations are hesitating and are vacillating and are unwilling to face the inevitable-a split with the right wing. This idea must be driven home to the centrists and other left- groupings within these orgganiztions - that sooner or later as the class struggle sharpens, the left -wing if it is not to capitulate its principles must make a clean break with the right, and link itself up with the only revolutionary parties and youth organizations existing to-day- those that stand on the firm ground of the 4th International. *From a tactical viewpoint an entrance might be necessary as in France.*

In Canada and In the CCYM in Ontario particularly, this Centrist tendency is most clearly shown in the persom of Jim Daly (Dan Jessul is even more to the right than Daly and cannot be called much more than a left socialisy.) It will be necessary to work steadily on these two persons as they are the leaders of the left-wing explaining to them the fallacy of their position and trying to bring them to us. But more of this when we consider the actual line-up of forces in the CCYM.

Note by R.D.

3. The CCYM.

Rather similar to the Trotskyist Group in Canada.

it has in Ontario about 500 members , organized into a very loose , undisciplined organization, it has very little influence outside its membership. Although the CCYM grew up, contrary to most Young Socialist organizations, in a period of economic crises, it did not grow up from a desire on the part of the unemployed youth or of youth organized intrade-unions , for politiacl expression, in fact outside of the East York experience the CCYM has taken little or no action in the struggles of the youth or of the working class. It grew up,and still is dominated by petty-bourgeois , students and intellectuals (especially the leadership) . Of course in respect to this , it is only fair to state that the majority of the youth are either unemployed or are going to school and have ideas not of factory work but of "white-collar" jobs. However it is important to consider this when we are planning not only our work in the CCYM but also in oue own work.

2. The influence of the CCF on the CCYM evidenced by the desire of the right wing and the opportunists, not to do anything that would

antagonize the CCF. The desire not to do do anything that is contrary to the manifesto of the CCF etc. The effect of the CCF on the CCYM is a reactionary influence and that of strengthening the right wing. It is necessary that part of our activity in the CCYM must be the complete political and organizational automany of the CCYm . The effect of the CCYM on the CCF is practiacally negligible , this might be changed to some extent if a powerful left -wing grows up in the CCYM but at least in the past and in the immediate future the effect of the left-wing on the CCF will not be very great.

3. The Recent Right Swing of the CP and the YCI and its effect on the CCYM.

The recent turn tothe right of the YCL and the CP. has not had the desired effect of bringing the CCYM to position where they are willing to have organic unity with the YCL. In fact the recent turn far from the desired effect on the CCYM has resulted in the YCL being the laughing stock of the convention and in East York where they are already liqidated into the CCYM they are regarded with considerable distrust. And due mostly to their policy of class-collaboration and partly to get into th good graces of the CCYM'ers the YCL are already combining with the right wing in the CCYM against th left.

There is no danger at least in the immediate future, of our isolation from the CCYM because of this recent turn of the YCI. the left -wing althiugh still-confused regard with disgust the antics of the YCL they are on the best of terms with us-by that I mean that they are very friendly to us and are willing to discuss with us the problems that are confonting the working youth and the CCYM. They are not afraid to be seen in conversation with us and their attitude to the right wing in this respect is that of "try and expel us for consorting with Trotskyists and we will show you that you cannot do it". Those who fear that unless we liquidate the SYL into the CCYM we will be isolated from the CCYM due to the recent turn of the YCL are suffering under a illusion, they are not familiar with the actual situation, which I think is very favourable for us if "weplay our cards correctly" and do our work with these leftward moving elements in a thorough annd systematic manner.

4.,The relationship of forces in the CCYM.

1. the right wing- Grant, Cheshire etc. definetly lining up with the reactionary leadership of the CCF. and opposing progressive moves on the part of the left-wing. They have by no means a majority in the CCYM convention. There is no definite bureaucracy as yet in the CCYM, but there is no doubt that with the linking up of the CCYM with the CCF that this right wing will be much stronger and more effective in opposing the left.

2. The opportunists-Cotterell and Lazarus

due mostly to the abysimally low political level of the CCYM , their lack of experience etc this group-trying to keep the CCYM patterned after the CCF- avote-eatching machine,with such phrases as"let's do away with all this theoretical discussion and get down to organization" have considerable support in the CCYM but still did not have a majority at this convention.

3. The Stalinist forces are fairly weak as far as actual members workin in the CCYM are concerned , but they have considerable influence among some parts of the CCYM especially those districts which are not familiar with the infamous"3rd. period"policies. They [illegible] and bow in order to gain favour and line up with the right wing on every opportunity.

they are accused even by a recognized righr wing unit"Cruden Unit" onthe question of the united front (see report of convention) of class-collaboration ~~xxxx~~ etc. It is quite clear that th YCL stands even more to the right than the CCYM. and it is from this viewpoint that we must constantly drive home ~~xxx~~ to the CCYM'ers the thoroughly reactionary nature of the YCL

4. The left-wing.

~~Thisxxisxxaxfairly~~x It is comparatively weak as far as organizing its work is concerned and as yet it is not grouped around anyx definite program There are undoubtedly some very good elements in this left-wing, which is quite hetrogeneous in character and is divided on some important questions Jessuland Daly are the leaders of this wing but they too lack considerable experience, Daly is more to the left than Jessuland seems to be under the influence of the Krehm group. They are friendly to us and both of them should be ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ worked on in a systematic manner. The vast majority of the left-wing think that in the course of time they will be able to win a large majority of the CCYM to a revolutionary position-they hope to "capture " the organization. While this is not theoretically impossible in actual practise especially now that the CCF will have direct influence on the CCYM , the chances for success in this line are very,very, weak. Our work as a revolutionary youth organization that has a definite program and a definite purpose is to help this left-wing, alon in its work both by working inside the ~~xxxxxx~~ organization and from the outside by constant explanation of the principles of revolutionary Marxism and by driving home the fact that there will be an inevitable split with the right wing.

But this is only one aspect of our work as a revolutionary youth organizatx we must pursue at the same time the work of building up our own organization by taking an actual part in the stuggles of the workersAS AN ORGANIZATION ~~xxxxxxxx

6. The Political level of the membership is very low. considering that the delegates at the convention were the "cream of the CCYM" and noting their very apparent ignorance of even the most elementary principles of socialism one has some idea of the abysimally low level of the membership as a whole.

7. The activity of the CCYM.

Withx a membership of some 500 members the large majority of which are in Toronto it would be expected that there would be some report of industria activity. But not one case of the CCYM working in trade-unions , taking a lead in organizing of shops was presented. The omly real "class-stuggle" activity reported was that of the "East-York Relief-Strike" where the CCYM had phayed a very good part. But not one instance where trade-union work picketing etc had been carried on was sited by the industrial organizer.

The main work was carried in time of the election- helping the CCF to elect a majority to the House of Commons.There were some signs that the CCYM would start to do some real work in the industrial field but with a EC composed by far of reactionaries and opportunists the chances of the CCYM playing a leading role in the organization of young-workers into trade-unions of carrying on picketing etc are not very great.

The activity of the CCYM revolves around house parties , dances etc. which work although very necessary in building a working class youth organiz ion is not by any means the whole activity. IT is an activity built around the idea not of participating with the workers in their struggles and making them realize through this that the only thing is the overthrow of capitalism; but rather around the idea of "vote-catching" of building a youth auxiliary to thexxxx parliamentary machine of the CCF.
One of the main tasks of our fraction will be to make,the CCYM carry out the resolution that was carried xx at the convention-the industrial resolutions(see report of convention). And ti try to turn the attention of the CCYM towards the organization of the employed and unemployed youth. We of the SYL must also take the lead as an independent organization and start, although our forces are not large, into industrial activity, probably the easiest field to work on at the presenttime is the unemployed f work, we together with the WP must immediately start to work inx this field

8. The xxxxxx attitude of the leftward moving elements towards the SYL. This has been coverd to some extent when considering the left-wing in the CCYM. They are for the most part friendly towards us , and want us to carry on some real activity so taht not o ly will it help us gain favour in the rest of the left-wing but also they will be able to bombat the arguments of the Stalinists and the OPPortunists who claim that we are a mere sect interested only in theoretical discussion and are not seriously interested i mass work.

9. The work of the Krehm group in the CCYM

From what I can see they have their work fairly well organized although they are only xxxxxxx working in the South Rosedale Unit. Daly seems to be pretty well under their influence. They are advocating that the CCYM affiliate to the Stockholm Youth Buro. Although they can and will whether we like or not ,,take a part in the formation of a definite left-wing neverthless on this question it will be necessary to fight them most strongly all our members especially those working in the CCYM must familiarize themselves with the facts and data on the Buro so as to be able to bombat their arguments in favour of it,

We must not either underestimate nor overestimate their influence. But one thing in our mind is certain that if the WP and the SYL immediatel activise themselves as a Party and as as Youth organization should be active

then our work of combatting these elemts would be a thousand times easier. To liquidate our organization into the CCYM would in my our estimation throw these more-developed left-wingers such as Daly and Jessul right into the waiting arms of the Krehm group. We do not want that.

4. The Workers Party and the SYL - the condition of the organization.

1.
It is generally agreed by this NC that practiaclly no work is being carried carried by either the SYL or the WP as ORGANIZATIONS, while it is true that some of our members are very active as individuals, nevertheless it is also true that as organizations we are carrying on little or no work in the unemployed , cultural, sports etc. fields. or on picket lines etc.

2. We are not a particularly well ~~known~~ known organization to the average worker, this true not only because of our situation in the labour movement but also as aresult of neglecting work which should have been done and could have been done by us , which would bring the name and the policies of the Workers party and the SYL to the forefront. We have no exact means to gage ~~m~~ our influence suffice it to say that if the above conditions are corrected our influence as well as our numerical strength will grow quickly.

3. Now in relation to the question whether we should liqu ate the SYL into the CCYM at the present time it is necessary to consider the actual members of the Party and the SYL in relation to the tasks which confront our organizations .

The Party having declared itself a party while still very small is nevertheless faced with the problem of extending the Party nationally and concretising these gains. It is faced with the problem of building auxiliary organizations ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ not only to serve the needs of the workers but also to serve as a mass base for the WP. It is faced with the problemm of carrying on extensive propaganda work.

Now in the leadership of the SYL(both City COm. and NC) are many youth members of the Party, whom at the same time as they doing youth work are ~~xxx~~ actually doing a lot of adult work for the Party. This latter work must be done but so has youth work to be done.

What would be the situation if the SYL were to liqidate into the CCYM outside of the City COM of the SYL and the NC of the SYL there are only one or two members who are capable of carrying on effective work in the CCYM and even some of the members of these two committees are not capable of play ing a leading role in the work of crystallising the left wing in the CCYM. If the Party were to retain most of the members of the SYL whom are already members of the Party ~~for~~ in order that they can carry on the present adult work that they are doing then because of the inexperience of the rest of the members of the SYL our work in the CCYM would not progress very quickly.

Then if the Party liqidated the whole SYL (youth members of the WP included) into the CCYM what would be the result. ~~What~~ would happen to the work these members are carrying o n at the present time, where would the field organizers come from for the near future Is it not clear that the Party in order to carry out the work that itis faced with needs the assistance not only of these members who are carrying on adult work at the present time but also of the Spartacus Youth League.

The Vanguard -—

We do not need to stress the importance of this and the need for spreading it among the workers ,,here too the SYL plays an important role which must not be forgotten when considering ~~the~~ its liquidation.

The SYL.

Our work in the CCYM, must be organized carefully and systematically with regular fraction meetings and some space in the press devoted to the purposes of discussing the various points of difference between reformism and revolutionary marxism. While this work is very important we must not forget that at the present time it is but one part of the activity of the SYL. The organization ~~in order~~ must immediately activise itself as an organization-try to publish a paper if at all possible -get into the unemployed work - carry on more intensive internal and external propaganda etc. ~~This must be done not only~~ This work will not only have a livening effect on the whole SYL , will not only result in our gaining members but it will also help immeasureably our work in the CCYM To have a real active SYL will have more effect a thousand times more effect on the leftward moving elements in the CCYM than sending the SYL into the CCYM

(Notes by R.D.-ed.)

Summary of the Resolution
of the NC.of the SYL Majority (Clark,Jourard, Dowson, Johnstone,Brooks.

On the analyisis of the
CCYM and whether the tactic
of liquidation into the CCYM
should be used.

At the present time neither the conditi n of the CCYM nor the condition of the SYL warrants or justifies the liquidation of the SYL into the CCYM.in
It is true that the SYL has not grown toany great extent during the past year, and that the activity of the SYL at the present time is little, but to use this fact as an argument for liquidation is false. In the first place the same argument could be used in respect to the WPC-it too has not grown, its activity also is practically nil, but this is not enough argument for liquidation into theCCF. Furthermore the reason we have not grown cannot be solely reduced to our position in the labour movement, and while it is true that we will not recruit members by the thousands into the SYL and the WP until the class-struggle sharpens, it is also, true that we can recruit by the tens and even the hundreds at the present time-if we really get down to work and not sit back and wait for the sharpening of the class-struggle which will bring the workers too us ,only if we can give them leadership in these struggles. One thing to remember also is this - that at this time, the WP and the SYL operating in such a backward country will attract the "cream of the working youth" and if we have faith in the power of organizetion wer can do this. The

We are of the opinion also that to liquidate the SYL into the CCYM would deprive the WP of some very necessary forces which it will need in the very near future in its work of extending the Party Nationally,of keeping up the Vanguard, of sending out field organizers of propaganda work etc.

Furthermore to"orientate"the SYL towards the CCYM and to"prepare" the membership of the SYL for entry would serve only to keep the SYL in a continual state of political and organizational instability and uncertainity,and could only have the worst effect on our work.

While at the present time we are opposed to this tactic, nevertheless under certain conditionsithis tactic may and even must be used, but at the present time neither the economin and political situation in Canada, the situation in the CCYM, or the condition of the SYL justify or make necessary the liquidation of the SYL into the CCYM.

When considering this problem we must not forget either the effect it will have on the international situation at the present time. The ICL youth, the SYL of US, etc.

In conclusion we point out that the "normal" orientation of the SYL is that of an independent youth organization linked up witha revolutionary party, and that the burden of proof lies with those who are for liquidation who must state concretly-whether a long stay in the CCYM is expected or whether a short stay this is important when considering the question. They must show what concrete gains are to be made that cannot be made by an independent SYL etc.

The problem confronting the SYL is not liquidation into the CCYM at the present time but rather a serious consideration of our past work a realization that we have not done all that we should have done towards activising the SYL as an organization and a resolve to immediately correct this failing and a resolve to get down to some real work.

THESIS ON S.Y.L. OF C. ENTRY INTO CCYM. E. KOMISSAR

I FROM PROPAGANDA TO MASS WORK

The major problem that confronts the S.Y.L. today is the problem of reaching the youth. Our political program is correct. It is strong and powerful. It wins recruits, too. When it is advanced and heard. More than a year has elapsed since our international organization passed the resolution, taking the turn from propaganda to mass work, which meant literally, a turn from our own little circle of propaganda to the mass organizations. When our youth and adult sections throughout Europe entered the mass centrist organizations, it did not thereby express a weakness in our ideas, or a lack of confidence in the ability of our ideas to win followers. On the contrary, it signified that our ideas were strong. That despite the dangers of opportunist degeneration that surrounded such a bold step, we were confident that our ideas would not only hold us together, but would at last break down the barriers that kept us from the masses, and an avenue for their transmission would finally be gained.

And that is precisely the problem that faces us here in Canada. We, all of us, believe in our program -- in its ability to win recruits. But we have not gained, and we do not gain recruits. Why? Because we are separated from the youth and have no immediate avenue to them. Of what value are our ideas if they are not transmitted? What good does our program serve, if it is not heard? The present task, then, is the creation of such an avenue, an arena where the youth will come and hear us and see us in action. Habits, once formed, are hard to break. Our own little "sewing circle" of Spartacus members has become our habit. But if we are sincere young communists, we will realize that for the sake of reaching the youth we must give up the unquestionable pleasure of chatting together and warming our feet at headquarters or in restaurants.

II THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA

Undoubtedly a pretentious name. For Spartacus means "souls and fire and revolution" and all that. But what does it signify in Canada? Not very much, if anything. And what are we, actually? In Vancouver, where undoubtedly the immediate possibilities for growth is greatest, we are supposed to have 13 members. At the time of writing we can only recognize 7, for only that number have registered at the National Office. While the Y.C.L. is not much of a force in British Columbia, the newly formed Y.S.L. of the C.C.Y. is the center of attraction at the present. The overwhelming majority of organized youth in B.C. are members of this movement. It is far to the left of the C.C.Y.M in Ontario. The fact that 20 of the 60 delegates at the fusion convention held recently, voted for a 4th International resolution has made little or no impression on us. Likewise the fact that at present it is a youth party, having no political affiliation whatsoever, has failed to impress us; and that 3 of the 7 on the provincial executive were elected after supporting and voting for our resolution.

This is overwhelming proof of the fact that our ideas will gain support if they are but advanced and heard. That our comrades will win the confidence and support of the CCYM youth if their work in that organization is carried on effectively and properly. Whether the formation of the Spartacus branch in Vancouver has helped or checked the work of the fraction there, cannot be ascertained or guaged at the

present time. Certainly it can be said that thorough and effective work was done before the formation of the branch. That can be proved. For the groundwork leading up to the convention was carried on in the months preceding the formation of the branch, which was organized about the same time as the convention was held. This work was carried out without organization and without directives. Yet we were able to gain the support of 25% of the delegates. How much more effective and how much greater would our gains have been, had there been in existence an organized, ~~x~~ homogeneous left wing fraction?

Our other branch is Toronto. Nowhere else have ~~xxxx~~ we been able to strike roots. Here we have about 35 members on the books. Our active membership is about 20 - 10 in the West End and 10 in the Center. As a matter of fact, rarely have 20 attended a general membership meeting. We have been in existence about three years. It is no easier to recruit today than it was three years ago. The growth of our international movement, our party and the Vanguard, is more than offset by the organization of the C.C.Y.M., which was not in existence at that time. Two years ago we had about 20 members; likewise a year ago; and today we are no farther ahead. Why? Some comrades attest this non-growth to the apathy in our movement; to the mistakes we have made; to the wrong youth approach, etc. Undoubtedly a good many more reasons could be found, and most of them would explain in part, our non-growth. But even those who most fiercely support independence at the present time, say that at the very most, with a near to perfection organizational approach as possible, we could have perhaps doubled our membership, i.e.,-y 40.

But I submit that we have done our best. We have tried hard to grow. Some say there is too much organizational machinery. But for two years we had only one leading committee, and we found that everything outside of Toronto was neglected. So we elected two committees. This has enabled us to intervene actively on the international arena and outside of Toronto, but, the Toronto work is neglected. So which way will you have it? We have organized socials and worked hard to make them a success. We have organized mass meetings, have advertised them well, but we have failed to attract the youth. We run study classes regularly. Occassionally a contact comes. What else can we do? Work on the Picket line? What picket line? The present lull in the labor movement hasn't seen a strike of any size for many months.

III A DOZEN CADRES The fact is, we have the generals without the army. We have cadres -- at least a dozen good ones. Individuals who can speak on a platform, lecture at a study class, write for a paper. Individuals who can organize, too. But the abilities of our members are wasted. For we are isolated — opera singers at an empty theatre.

No serious work can be carried on until our isolation is broken through. That is our first and immediate task. The tactic of entry into the C.C.Y.M. is the only road, for it offers us the most suitable opportunity to break down our isolation. Those who suggest that this will spell our death, for we will be swamped and buried, lack courage and conviction. The situation in Canada requires a bold and determined step on the part of the youth. Our ideas and our cadres, the latter still young, but developing rapidly, will not permit themselves to be

"buried". We will be heard and we will be alive in the C.C.Y.M. The forces are lying there, only to be tapped. But these must be examined closely.

IV C. C. Y. M. The 1935 figures of the C.C.Y.M. claim a national membership of 5,000; ~~x~~ 1,500 in Ontario. This is no doubt exaggerated, particularly in Ontario, where Clark's figure of 500 would probably be closer the truth. The Ontario section of the CCYM is recognized as being farther to the right than any other section. So you look here at the C.C.Y.M. at its worst. From the convention report, we have learnt that the Bickford resolution on war was carried. The centrism expounded in the resolution, e.g., "use a war crisis to seize power" (without the necessary preparation); "General Strike to stop war", etc., is due to the confusion and lack of contact with revolutionists. While the program finally adopted on Sanctions was neither here nor there, the Daly-Jessel position received a great deal of support, as the report shows. Only an idiot would place the C.C.Y.M. in the same light as the C.C.F. The latter is the classic example of ancient reformism. The youth organization is centrist rapidly moving to the left.

The social composition of the membership it is true, is largely white-collar and student. But it is the reflection of the social composition of the entire Canadian youth. Most of these have either never had jobs, or are white collar workers or students. Only a small minority are factory proletariat. So it is only natural that the youth organizations in this country will be dominated by unemployed and students. The social composition of the S.Y.L. is exactly the same. In fact, an analysis of our membership in Toronto shows a large majority of ~~white-collar~~ office workers.

The political level of the CCYM is low. That is quite true. But how will it be raised? Your answer ought to be by coming to our organization and to our classes. But they do not come. The present CCYM leadership will never educate them. Who will? "We", say those for entry and those opposed, in unison. It is unanimous. But how? Firstly, it occurs that perhaps some of us feel that it is not worth the effort to educate them. After all, they have such a low political level, and they're only a bunch of students and office workers.

But we submit that these elements represent the cream of the Canadian Youth. These elements in the great majority are sincerely interested in socialism -- and are willing to fight for it, too. What they need is clarity and leadership. And we say that the quickest and most effective way of winning them is to go in beside them, and work with them, and gain their confidence, never once hiding the identity of our ideas or allowing ourselves to be buried. On the contrary, we must fight bitterly such tendencies as the Cotterel grouping, which tries to put in the background theory and principles, and plays up the necessity for action and organizing as the first and immediate consideration. The spineless, reformist tendency represented by Cheshire can easily be discredited. While it may find a fertile ground in the C.C.F., the youth have no stomach for belly-crawling before law and order. Daly and Jessel, who represent the left wing will be forced to go along with our program, or follow us in the rear. With the only positive program on war, international affiliation, the struggle for power, we shall rally the militants behind us.

I believe we should enter on a long term perspective; that is, with the idea in mind of gaining control of the organization. Witness Baltic Evolution, as proof of the probability of such a course. If we constantly our every approach would hasten such an event. The adoption of a "short term" orientation will cause our early expulsion or a premature split.

Of course, no ready-made formulas can be laid down. We must reckon with the forces. But, generally speaking, I recommend a long term perspective!

V THE WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA

The first and immediate question is our party. Its independence must be maintained. Entry of the youth as the first stage of entry of the Party is false and has nothing in common with Marxism. The Party will have to solve its problems on the basis of its particular conditions. The C.C.F. at the present time is not a suitable avenue to the masses. It is still far to the right of even the Labor Party of England, and does not have the good points of the latter, the solid support of the trade unions and the co-operatives. Our party is small but it is not isolated. The Vanguard has broken ground for us. The various groups are spread throughout the country, and in every large city there is at least the beginning of a group. As a tactic it is not excluded that at some future date, even the Party will have to take the road of entry. But that will depend on the growth of our movement, on the development of the C.C.F., the development of our international movement, etc. At the present time it is imperative that our Party remain independent to act as the crystallizing center for the splits that are taking place throughout Canada in the Stalinist ranks. Unlike the youth, there is the immediate possibility of our Party attracting substantial forces, particularly in the Ukranian field.

The forces of the Party is another consideration. It is claimed that entry into the CCYM will considerably weaken the Party, because leading youth members are doing very important work for the Party. But actually the opposite is the case. Entry will infinitely strengthen the Party. Firstly, the left wing will be crystallized into W.P. sympathizers. New avenues for the Vanguard will be found. Entry does not mean that every member holding a Spartacus membership card at the present time will go into the CCYM. We shall pick and choose carefully. Some of us will have to enter the Party, and do full time work for it. The rest will enter the CDYM, and it is quite possible for them to do internal party work. We shall gain and develop the future Cadres for the Party in the CCYM. The present leaders of the SYL with the added experience of work with the masses, will become leaders in their own right.

VI YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

It is true that at the present time the Y.C.L. is not taken seriously by the CCYM. But that is only temporary and to be expected. Actually programmatic differences are at a minimum. While today they are laughed at, tomorrow they will be taken seriously. Significant is the fact that at a recent session of the Trades and Labor Congress work with the WUL and the CP was barely thrown out. The move for organic unity will further isolate us. We must counterpose to the slogan of unity of the youth on a non-political basis, the slogan of unity of the youth on a revolutionary program. Our present weak forces will not be heard. We can most effectively carry out this struggle "from the inside". We do not hold that the CCYM can be "reformed". A split is inevitable and will take place; in all probability we shall be expelled. But when that time comes, we hope to come out with the basis for an independent youth organization.

The burden of proof is on our side, says Clark. That is true. And the burden of proof is herein submitted. But unfortunately we can offer Clark no guarantees. The revolution holds no "guarantees". We do know of one, though. It is certain that the Canadian workers will be defeated unless the youth are won to our ideas. Shutting up our ideas tight inside 320 Spadina Avenue will not win them. We must go after them. The

correctness of our ideas is no guarantee that they will be accepted and followed. Only if we intervene actively in their struggles, will we win the young socialists of this country.

VII PERSPECTIVES The question is posed: "Do we enter on a short term or long term perspective?" "Under what conditions do we enter?" The latter first.

Criticism is offered that the conditions in Canada are entirely different than those in France when our section entered the SFIO and the J.S. there. That in Canada, there is no crisis in the democratic state, there is no imminent threat of Fascism, no crisis in the reformist movement, in short there is no pre-revolutionary crisis. Admitted. But what does that prove? Exactly nothing. We deny that the only conditions for entry are those that existed in France. Such is the reasoning of "Book-Marxists", who fail to understand that the conditions in France were not made to order for us, but were thrust upon us. That in such a precarious situation we found ourselves without the forces for an independent party, in isolation, and it was necessary to win the workers to our program and to our slogans of action immediately. But entry would have been out of the question, had we found ourselves sufficiently strong to influence the course of events in France through the medium of a "normal" independent party. France has taught us something more than what the book-Marxists would have us learn. It has taught us that we must NOT wait for a pre-revolutionary crisis, in order to take the turn from a propaganda group to mass work. The cadres that have been developed in the long years of struggle with Stalinism must be utilized for mass work, NOW, AT ONCE. If the crisis in the class struggle comes later in Canada than in France, it only means that we have a longer period than our French brothers in which to work. That period must be utilized to the fullest possible measure.

"The left wing in the CCYM is weak and amorphous" say the independents, "In France there was something to work with". It is true that the left wing is weak. But we must strengthen it and give it life and energy and spunk. Particularly the latter. Had the left wing in the Ontario Convention made a determined fight to get equal representation on the Provincial Executive, I am convinced that they could have won it. But they were content to let the Old-Guard continue. They feel that types like Lazarus and Cotterel are better speakers and better organisers. And on this consideration they are content to let them lead. Our job is to clarify issues. To show that leadership is given firstly on consideration of POLITICAL agreement with the rank and file; secondly on organizational ability.

We shall negotiate with the leadership and keep the membership of the CCYM informed. We shall ask for full democratic rights. The right to express ourselves freely inside the organization. The right to group as a tendency and to issue an internal organ. In turn we shall offer to build the CCYM and work to increase its membership and influence. "They'll never allow us to enter as a group or publish a paper", replies Clark. Then we'll enter and depending on our gains, we shall take more and more democratic liberties. Their ability to keep us from issuing a paper will depend solely on our ability to win sections of the membership to our program.

March 27th, 36.

The S. Y. L. and the C. C. Y. M.

1) The S.Y.L., after three years of existence, does not yet posses the cadres around which, unless the objective situation changes sharply in our favor, a substantial revolutionary youth organization can be built. The SYL exists only in Toronto and Vancouver, with nothing in the way of reliable youth contacts for the extension of the organization in other parts of the country. This situation is due to the ravages of past factional struggles in the SYL, ~~the extremely unfavorable objective situation~~, (2) a lack of real youth "demands" a s distinct from those of the adults, and, recently, an inability to find a correct orientation towards other youth organizations.

The SYL has not engaged in what can be termed specifically, youth work. It has and does hold classes, occasional public meetings wither on street corners or in halls, youth speakers are present at party public meetings, etc. (This work does not demand, particularly, the existence of a separate youth organization.) The most fruitful field for winning the youth to our movement is in existing organizations and in partular the CCYM. The CCYM has many elements who can and must be drawn to us, in order that a real organization of revolutionary youhh may be built.

2) The CCYM is a national organization. In Toronto, where the bulk of our work will, in the immediate future, be done, its membership is roughly 250 to 300. Its leadership, Lazarus, Cotterel, Cheshire, etc., is reformist.

At the last provincial conference a fairly substantial, if confused, left wing manifested itself. The reformist leadership, immediately after the conference, took steps to destroy thisleft wing. First the resolution on war was rejected by them. Second they began to behead the left wing by the expulsion of its most prominent individuals, Jaessel, Daly, etc. Further expulsions will probably take place. The leftward elements have been thrown into confusion by this attack, due to the lack of clear and consistent advice and leadership.

Given leadership on a clear policy it is not unlikely that the left wing may become the majority of the CCYM. It is not by any means excluded that the CCYM may eventually become, in its majority, a revolutionary organization. It is with this possibility in mind and with aim in view that our work in the CCYM must be guided.

Not only must we bear in mind the building of our own tendency but, and this is inseparable from it, we must do all possible to prevent the growth and crystallization of reformist and centrist currents on the youth field. This not only goes for the reformists in the CCYM now, but also for the stalinists. Fusion of the CCYM with the YCL (or liquidation of the YCL into the CCYM) may not be an immediate danger to the left wing of the CCYM, but it is a potential danger against which we must guard with all our force.

3) Concentration of SYL work upon the CCYM will lay the most favorable basis for our movement, on the youth field. It will provide us with possibilities for contact with the left ward moving elements throughout the country and lay the groundwork for the extensionof our movement upon a national scale. A left wing exists in the West which has no contact with the left wing in other parts of the country - this contact must be made.

4) With the idea in mind that the next stage in the development of our youth movement will be eventual fusion of our present group with large sections of the CCYM that will be won to our cause, or even, the winning of the CCYM as an organization to our movement, we can only come to the conclusion that the work of our youth lies solely within the CCYM, at least in the immediate future. This means that the SYL must be transformed into a fraction in the CCYM. The maintenance of an independent organization will pull our work in two opposite directions and will provide a basis upon which conflicting tendencies in our own youth can flourish. Work will be divided between the CCYM and the building of an independent organization to the detriment of our general advancement. One section of our young comrades will be

pulling against the other.

A Party youth bureau must be established, meeting regularly with the fraction and aiding it in its work (in determining policies, preparing material for the work, classes, public meetings, etc.). The activity of the members in the CCYM must be stricly under the direction of the fraction as a whole. In view of the fact that our work will be of an "illegal" character, extreme care must be exercised in carrying it out. The stakes are too great for us to lightly jump in so that we can be thrown out, with perhaps a few more.

RESOLUTION ON C.C.Y.M. (Revised and Edited)

The primary task of the SYL is to organize the ~~advanced and revol-~~ ~~utionary~~ working class and student youth into a revolutionary Marxist political organization; to draw the broad masses of proletarian youth into the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, and for the energetic support of the general revolutionary struggle of the working class led by the revolutionary Party. Just as the Workers Party of Canada comprises ~~xxxxxxx~~ the first cadres for the new revolutionary party, so the SYL is the nucleus for the new youth organization.

To accomplish this task it behooves the SYL to carefully analyze the existing workers's political youth organizations, indicate their inadiquacies as militant leaders of the youth and formulate such policies as can win allies in these groups for the construction of a new youth movement.

At no time has the Young Communist League succeeded in reaching, not to speak of organizing, the large masses of young workers and students. The C.C.Y.M. however, is making a bid for the leadership of the Canadian youth, and it is especially necessary to examine very carefully this new development in the Canadian working class movement. The fundamental defect in both the Y.C.L. and C.C.Y.M. is that they are politically dominated by the adult parties, the Stalinist Communist Party and the C.C.F. respectively, both parties refect revolutionary Marxism, and are incapable of developing militant youth organizations which can lead the young workers against ~~against~~ capitalism.

The defeat of the German and Austrian working class due to the false policies of Stalinism and Social Democracy, the quickening march of Fascism, the deep economic crisis and the sharpening class struggle have had a profound effect on the Canadian youth. This is reflected by the growth of the C.CY.M. in the short few months of its existence. It is on this background that our position on the C.C.Y.M. must be drawn.

A great potential source of recruitment for the new revolutionary youth movement is the C.C.Y.M. ~~i~~ Under the impact of events in Germany and Austria and the sharpening class struggle in Canada, the C.C.Y.M. has taken the opportunity to multiply numerically and increase the influence and prestige. The new young workers who have been attracted in recent months have brought with them their problem and have pressed for their solution. Above all the absence of a revolutionary youth organization and the bankruptcy of the Y.C.L., the official communist youth organization, permitted this lease of life for the C.C.Y.M.

The C.C.Y.M. is a right-centrist organization; an organization employing revolutionary phraseology, e.g. "The Overthrow of Camitalism", "the bankruptcy of reformism", "class-conscious organization", etc., etc., but it has no clear program on any of the burning issues (militarism and war, Fascism, trade union, students) or the basic issue of the road to power. Its leadership and the bulk of its membership accept the political leadership of the C.C.F. viz., "The Constitution of the C.C.Y.M. shall not violate or run counter to the spirit or the of the constitution of the C.C.F." It differs essentially from the C.C.F. , however, in the fact that it adopted a program of immediate demands at the first convention. An age limit of 35 guarantees the C.C.F. an artificial control of the youth organization. Within the ranks a serious interest is developing towards the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement.

The progressive character of the leftward drift of the Canadian youth, mirrorred inx the rapid growth of the CCYM, offers excellent ipportunities for the Spartacus Youth League. The future of our movement depends a great deal on the effectiveness of our force and methods of work. To date we have succeeded in establishing a small fraction in several units of the C.C.Y.M. in and around Toronto, for fraction work must be developed cautiously, and at the same time without delay. The S.Y.L. because it is a small and handicapped organization must make every effort to establish friendly relations with the members despite the handicapps. Debates, united front actions, etc., should be fostered by our units. The Young Militant, particularl , should play an important part in this work.

An especially important part of our C.C.Y.M. work is the question of internationalism. We should continually pose the international aspect of working class problems and the subsequent necessity; for international ties and connections. Thus will present itself an excellent opportunity for popularizing the " International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations," with headquarters at Stockholm, Sweden. This buro which grew out of the Luxemburg conference held in 1934 must march ahead to the formation of the new youth international. As a section of this buro, it is our profound duty to work concretely to build the new youth organization in Canada under the banner of the New Youth International. In this regard it becomes necessary to explain the general bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, and their youth sections.

While there is displayed a growing interest in the problems of the revolutionary movement, there is a marked antipathy towards the Y.C.L. in Ontario. The Stalinist youth are looked upon as disrupters and disorganizers, and this feeling has been exploited bu the leadership as an excuse to postpone indefinitely the question of the United Front. As yet the C.C.Y.M. has no position on this major tactic. We must take advantage of every opportunity to press for united action on specific issues; our proposals while directed to the leadership must be coupled with a constant agitation among st the rank and file. We must realize that the membership are composed in the great majority of sincere young workers to further the cause of socialism.

Such questions as: Internationalism, reduction of age limit, United front, clear position on war, industrial work etc., will constitute the major part of our fraction work. This, coupled with mass meetings, Young Militant articles, debates and friendly contacts between S.Y.L. and C.C.Y.M. members will guarantee the steady growth of our ideas in the CCYM.

We must clearly understand that as yet we are not the new revolutionary youth league, but only the nucleus for the creation of it. The CCYM at present is the guage which measures the radicalization of the Canadian youth. In it are contained many militant and leftward moving young workers. In the coming months the CCYM will experience great internal struggles. The left-wing today is weak and disorganized chiefly centred around the issue of the United Front. We must organize this left-wing and give it guidance and leadership. The left-wing must be taught to realize that sooner or later they will come into conflict with the reactionary leadership who will attempt to throttle this inexorable development of the rank and file. We must be careful to rest this responsibility on the proper shoulders. Out of the CCYM may come the basis for the launching of the new revolutionary youth league in Canada.

Fellow Workers and Fellow Unemployed

We Relief Workers of York Township are

ON STRIKE 100%

Scarboro Workers Unite with us!

We are Fighting for:

1. Restoration of ALL Relief Cuts.
2. Raising of RELIEF TO 35% above the Campbell Report for ALL Relief Recipients.
3. JOBS for ALL at Trade Union rates, through Public Works Projects.

Why are we Striking?

The Hepburn Government forces vicious Relief cuts the Township Council endorses this action!

This STRIKE must be SUCCESSFUL!

HOW?

1. Strikers stand firm until your minimum demands are granted—Keep your discipline under your democratically elected strategy Committee.
2. TRADE UNIONISTS - The interests of the Strikers are your interests, the Trades & Labor Council endorses this Strike; COME to its AID with financial and moral support.
3. Working Class of York Township STAND solid with the STRIKERS, be prepared to join them on the Picket line if necessary ATTEND their

MASS MEETING

Saturday, April 8th.

at 2.30 p.m.

KEELE and ELORA RD.

Extension of Unemployment and Agricultural Act of 1937 to include all unemployed Young People.

Strikers' Strategy Committee

SCARBORO RELIEF UNION

TO FELLOW WORKERS OF SCARBORO
EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED !

The Provincial Government has forced the Municipalities to make drastic cuts in the Relief standards of the Unemployed. These cuts mean a ten per cent reduction in food allowance; removal from relief of all single unemployed; cutting off of household medical supplies, dental service, mattresses. garden seeds, school supplies, and reduction of clothing allowances.

The Relief Workers of Scarboro, together with their fellow Relief Workers of other Municipalities in the Greater Toronto area, are on strike for recognition of the following demands:

1. Restoration of all Relief Cuts.
2. No single unemployed person to be cut off Relief until such time as work at wages is available.
3. Jobs for all at trade union rate of wages on public works projects.

MASS MEETING
Danforth and Wanstead
Saturday, APRIL 15
2.00 P.M.

A reduction in Relief Standards means an eventual reduction in wage standards. Trademen's and Professional men's incomes will also be reduced. We appeal to you for your moral and financial support.

ISSUED BY THE STRIKE COMMITTEE

EASTBOURNE PRESS, Scarboro Junction

OPEN LETTER TO C.C.Y.M.

Dear Comrades:

After considerable serious discussion in our organization, we have decided that the most promising path towards building a real, mass socialist youth movement in Canada is to build and develop the C.C.Y.M. Accordingly we have dissolved the Spartacus Youth League, and our former members are joining the C.C.Y.M.

The considerations that have prompted us in this action are of some importance, and will explain our motive. Above all, our members in the past, and the present move is no exception, have acted in a manner which they deemed would bring about the downfall of the capitalist system and the institution of a planned socialist economy in Canada in the shortest possible time. The fight for socialism, however, is conducted by and through the organizations of the working class and farmers and their youth. The problem then confronted us as to where we can best work for socialism in our time. There were several possibilities that bear scrutiny.

The Young Communist League? This organization is a hopelessly bureaucratized machine, which acts today only in the interests of the reactionary Stalinist clique, whose policy of subordinating the class struggle for socialism in the "democratic" countries, to the policy of imperialist pacts and alignments, has developed the Y.C.L. into a conservative and retrogressive force in the youth movement. Freedom of thought or ~~xxxxxxxx~~ criticism is absolutely untenable in this movement. The road to socialism does not lie through the Y.C.L. or any of its pseudo-"unity" groupings.

Build an independent youth organization? The movement of the workers and farmers and their youth ~~xxx~~ today is away from all kinds of small leagues and groupings. At one time such a position was possible, but at the present it would only be sectarianism to think that the correct road lies through ~~this~~ "chemically pure" type of organization. An objective ~~xxxx~~ view of the situation leads to the conclusion that there is very little possibility for a small grouping to grow appreciably, or to become a decisive factor in the near future.

Our consideration then turned towards the C.C.Y.M. We believe that here is the attraction center of the movement of young workers and students who are rebelling against capitalism and earnestly want to bring about as soon as possible a planned socialist economy in Canada. Here is no bureaucratization such as pervades the Stalinist youth organization, and by and large it does represent a healthy mass movement of young workers, farmers and students throughout Canada who are sincerely working for socialism.

We consider that to stand aside from such a movement would be a position of ultra leftism, and therefore we have decided to join the C.C.Y.M. Many of our former members have considerable experience not only in the political and economic activities of the working class organizations, but also in the social, sports and cultural fields. We believe that we can be a real asset in the building of the C.C.Y.M. as a genuine mass movement for socialism.

You perhaps think that we want to come in only to disrupt the work of your organization, or to engage in long polemics that have no practical value, bearing in mind the now open members of the Field group or R.Y.L. We emphatically state that we have nothing in common with their attitude to the C.C.Y.M. They are hopeless sectarians, incapable of working in the living movement. We, the former members of the S.Y.L. dissociate ourselves from this clique.

We join, not to disrupt your organisation, but to help build it. As far as the differences between us, we believe that in the struggle against capitalism the theories and programs which are a guide to action will be fully tested and judged accordingly.

The S.Y.L. in the United States has for some time been part of the Young People's Socialist League, and the overwhelming majority of the Y.P.S.L's are fully convinced that the work and activity of the former members of the S.Y.L. is ample proof of the correctness of the step made.

We retain our principled stand, the ideas of Marxian socialism. And accordingly, we urge our sympathisers and all class-conscious [illegible]g workers and students to join with us in the immediate task ahead, [illegible]ding and developing the C.C.Y.M.

FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE OF CANADA.

SOLIDARITY!

The strike of protest against recent relief cuts and discontinuance of relief to single workers over eighteen years, has developed during the past two weeks into a broad mass movement of protest of all thinking people in the Township. The condition of those forced through circumstances to accept relief has been reduced to below a decency level and has aroused the indignation of employed workers, property owners, business men, professional people, ministers, veterans and others.

So powerful has this protest become that the Provincial Government have agreed to a "revamping" of the budget of the Township, which opens up three possibilities:—

1. **The manipulation of present monies remaining to the credit of the municipality so as to increase relief funds.**
2. **The levying of increased taxation against the homes of the people of the Township.**
3. **Opening the budget for further consideration of Provincial grants to the Township for relief expenditures.**

We, the General Strike Committee, wish to state emphatically that we are opposed to any increased tax levy being made against the small home owners of the Township, in order to continue relief at its present level or to increase it to the May rates.

We are convinced that the Provincial Government can and must secure sufficient funds to not only maintain present rates, but to increase them to their former level and to place single workers back on relief rolls. That no tax against the people, on their homes, business, gasoline, etc., etc., is necessary is shown by an editorial in the Daily Star, June 16th, concerning Dominion Textiles. Similar examples of exorbitant profits exist in all parts of the Province from which the Provincial Government can secure funds.

We believe that a demonstration of the unity that has been achieved in the Township between the various organizations and individuals can force the Provincial Government to go to this source to secure funds for additional expenses in our and other municipalities for relief expenditures, and to maintain a decent and adequate scale of relief to the unemployed.

The General Strike Committee, therefore, calls upon all organizations and upon all individuals to participate in the Parade and Mass Meeting in Queen's Park on June 26th, which will express the protest and indignation of Toronto and all suburban municipalities who are preparing to take part in the meeting.

The present situation in the Township and surrounding municipalities is one of grave importance to all working people. The support accorded to the unemployed in York Township during the last two weeks is proof of that fact, and proof of the interest of the average individual. The possibility of increased taxation upon the home owners, and renewed attacks upon relief scales calls for immediate action—ON YOUR PART.

PROTECT YOUR HOMES AND YOUR FAMILIES. PROTEST TO QUEEN'S PARK JUNE 26th.

Time and place of meetings for this Parade will be advertised throughout the Township.

Printed by Silverthorn Press, 790 Old Weston Rd. at Keele

RESOLUTION ON ORGANIZATION – FOR PROVINCIAL CONVENTION – NOVEMBER 1936

WHEREAS the Provincial Executive has in the past period played a bureaucratic and sabotaging role in the development of the C.C.Y.M., by rejecting not only individual applications, but keeping out whole new branches as "suspicious,"

AND WHEREAS the whole grounds for these wholesale rejections were the presumed political opinions of these members and recruits, i.e., they were suspected of not being in entire agreement with the Provincial Executive

AND WHEREAS these methods have played a decisive factor in the withdrawal of the Woodbine and Danforth units, and the near loss of East York; these units containing a large section of the Toronto membership

AND WHEREAS this line has degenerated the Provincial Executive what should be an organizational leadership, into a first—class detective agency, playing primarily a role of keeping out so-called "suspicious left-wingers"; and as a result finding little time for building and developing the C.C.Y.M. Which is its first and most important responsibility.

AND WHEREAS THE C.C.Y.M. Is, or should be, a healthy youth organization which believes in the principles of democracy within its ranks, and which allows differences of opinion therein to be solved in the healthy environment of discussion, and not by the bureaucratic method of administrative maneuvers

RESOLVED that the line of the late executive committee be thoroughly repudiated, and the principles of democracy be reinstated.

RESOLUTION ON CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS

WHEREAS A series of guest speakers and luncheons occupied a major portion of the last convention's time

AND WHEREAS A good many delegates had t o leave immediately after the election of officers, which was held in violation of normal convention procedure, **prior** to the discussion on resolutions on policy; thus not permitting of ample time and opportunity to reach conclusions on policy, which had only a two (hour) allotment on the agenda,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that henceforth the election of officers shall be placed as the final item of the convention

AND FURTHER that **one whole day** be given to **resolutions on policy.**

RESOLUTION ON DAIL STRUGGLE

WHEREAS an integral part of the struggle for socialism is the active support of partial economic demands of the working class, such as higher wages, better relief standards, etc.,

RESOLVED that the C.C.Y.M. Will help in the organization of workers into trade unions, unemployed

organizations, and will support the struggle of these workers, and that the C.C.Y.M. Will enter into joint activity with other sectors of the labor movement on these and other pressing working class issues which arise from time to time.

RESOLUTIONS ON WAR

I IMPERIALIST WAR

WHEREAS imperialist war is caused by the economic system of imperialism , which drives the nations of the world (into conflict over) other's threats for markets, spheres of influence, sources (of conflict);

RESOLVED that the struggle against war cannot be separated from the struggle against capitalism, and that the C.C.Y.M. Will actively support the class war of the oppressed for socialism, and wars of colonial peoples for national liberation; and will attempt to turn imperialist wars into a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

II LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WHEREAS The League of Nations, despite the membership of the Soviet Union, is a body of capialist powers, dominated by Great Britain and France, and was established after the great war to legalize the robber treaty of Versailles, and is not and could never be an instrument of peace

RESOLVED that the working class can lend no support or collaboration to that body, but that the part of the C.C.Y.M.'s struggle against war, is the consistent and unceasing exposure of the League and its policies; and that the C.C.YM. will advocate only **independent action** of the working class.

III DISARMAMENT

WHEREAS capitalism is a class society, whose continued existence depends primarly upon the armed strength of the ruling class
AND WHEREAS arms are not only necessary to conduct capitalist wars for markets, but are also necessary for the suppression of the oppressed working class and colonial subjects

RESOLVED that the slogan of disarmament is a utopian one, and can only spread illusions about the nature of war, and that the C.C.Y.M. Must expose disarmament conferences as an integral part of the hypocrisy and screen behind which the ruling class prepares for war

IV NEUTRALITY

WHERAS capitalism is international, and Canada is an integral part of world imperialism, and cannot be isolated, but depends on the world market for its sustenance, and will inevitably be drawn into a world war

RESOLVED that the policy of “neutrality” and such slogans as “Keep Canada out of war” are illusory, and can only confuse the people of the nature of the real struggle against war, which is the abolition of capitalism.

Resolution on WAr

It is evident to the most casual observer that the working and student youth of to-day are faced with an impending war between the capitalist nationsfor a re-division of the world markets and also the growing danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet - Union.

The advocates of disarmament fail to realize that arms are necessary for the existence of the capitalist system not only to wage wars for the re-division of the world markets but also to suppress by force any attempt of the oppressed classes"at home" to question the continued existence of this decadent system. The same force that drives the various capitalist nations to war makes it necessary for them to create and keep up armaments in order to waige these wars. Therefore the advocacy of disarmament under capitalism can only spread illusions among the working masses as to the possibility of peace under an economic system the very structure of which makes war inevitable.

Canada as a capitalist nation is inseparably bound up with internation al capitalism. British and American capital especially have a tremendous influence over Canada's foreign policy. The slogan"Keep Canadaout of WAR" can lead onlyto an illusory pacifism and consequent complete demoralization of the working class upon the outbreak of an imperialist war in which Canda will be forced to enter as a link in the chain of world capitalism.

For the working class organizations to support the "democratic" nations against "fascist" nations in the event of waris a rank betrayal of working class interests. Both forms of government express the dictatorship of finance capital over the working class and any of the so-called "democratic"nations would and will resort to fascism if necessary to protect their economic power. Furthermore in time of war even the most"democratic"nation enforces a military dictatorship at home - cesures press,prohibits free assembly etc. Therefore the slogans for the CCYM to proclaim are " the enemy is at home" " "turn the imperialist war of the Capitalists into the civil war for the emancipation of the oppressed masses".

The League of Nations was formed to preserve the status-quo as laid down by the robber treaty of Versailles. It is the meeting place of the imperiali st bandits where they decide the division of the smaller oppressed nations among the larger nations. At the present time it expresses the interests of British imperialism which can at no time be considered as identical with the interests of the working class. Support of the League of Nations is a policy of class collaboration and a policy of betrayal and confuses the issue at stake-the irreconcilable struggle of the workers and farmers against their oppressors, carried on at all times and especially during war.

Be it therefore resolved that war is an inherent part of the capitalist system, that it is a continuation of politics by other means and that war cannot be abolished until the capitalist system itself is abolished;

That the Italo-Ethiopian conflict is the struggle of Italian capital for a larger share of the world market at the expense of the Ethiopian people and the Italian workers;

That we support the struggle of the Ethiopian people as a progressive struggle against imperialism and that we call upon the Italian workers to overthrow the real enemy- the capitalist class at home as the next step in the international against capitalism;

That we dissociate ourselves from the sanctions policy of the L.of N sincethe support of the League in economic sanctions will inevitably lead to support in military sanctions and therefore ti the support of British imperialism and the consequent betrayal of the working class i nto another blood-bath of imperialism.The working class must apply its own sanctions against Italy by means of sabotage of shipments of goods to Italy, strikes etc., and by joint demonstrations of all working class organizations, and the greatest possible support of the Ethiopian masses.

Resolution on Fascism

Whereas the capitalist class ,maintaining itself by the exploitation and subjugation of the great masses of the people under the cloak of a democratic form of government,designed to keep hiddenthe real dictatorship by force through the medium of the state machinery; And whereas the institution of Fascism in Germany,Italy etc.,has demonstrated how the capitalist class when faced with the threat of working class revolt,rallies around itself the demoralized unemployed and the disgruntled middle class elements by demagogic and nationalistic appeal,and institutes an open and bloody dictatorship,destroying all working class organizations,tradex unions etc.;

Be it resolved that the CCYM resists by all possible maens Fascist propaganda of all kinds,and extends the hand of international solidarity to those workers in other countries existing under the most brutal form of capitalist rule.

And further that the CCYM recognizes the necessity of united action by all working class organizations against the growing menace of Fascism.

Moreover the defeat of the working class forces in Europe by the brutal fascist forces demonstrates conclusively that the struggle of the working class must go beyond the bounds of parliamentary action, and that only by the organization of the working class on a revolutionary basis can the final defeat of Fascism be assured.

~~RXXOLEXTIONXENXNARX~~ Resolution re. Youth International

Whereas the support of thier respective capitalist governments by the Socialist Parties in 1914 and their collaboration in sending the workers to a bloody death for capitalist gains clearly demonstrated the bankruptcy of the 2nd International, And whereas the 3rd International ~~HXX~~ controlled as it is by the bureaucracy of Stalin and his group and used to serve the interests of the foreign diplomacy of the USSR at the cost of international working class defeats, has shown itself to be incapable of independent action to further the interests of the working class of the world;

Be it resolved that since the struggle for socialism is an international struggle, the CCYM goes on record as being in favor of a new youth international composed of all revolutionary youth organizations on the basis of a revolutionary marxist program for the emancipation of the international working class and the institution of a socialist economic system.

working class

RESOLUTION RE. UNITED FRONT

Whereas owing to capitalist propaganda made possible by control of the press, radio and by creation of capitalist institutions within the working class, is split politically in its journey towards class-consciousness and therefore disunited and weakened in its attempts to wrest a greater proportion of the national wealth from the capitalists in the form of better living conditions, the CCYM places itself on record as supporting these struggles for immediate demands and expresses its willingness to co-operate ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ with other working class organizations in presenting a solid front against the capitalist exploiters, realizing at the same time that these struggles lay the foundations for the struggle for power and that the struggles themselves without this conscious idea behind them are fruitless.

VOTE FOR

BILL BUTTERWORTH

FOR

DEPUTY REEVE — WARD 3

YORK TOWNSHIP

Fighter for the Working Class

SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE OF CANADA

FELLOW WORKERS:

Twelve months have passed since you elected "your" last council.

Have they been your representatives?

We say: No!

Has there been any change in the miserable conditions of the workers, unemployed or employed alike?

NO! There can be no change as long as you continue to elect representatives of the capitalist parties.

They administer the affairs of the township not for your benefit, but for the capitalist class whose servants they are.

We, the working class, must elect members of our own class to serve us.

We don't try to delude you by suggesting that by electing one of our class we can cure all the evils of the system. But you can be assured that all the manoeuvres behind the scenes will be exposed to the workers.

We present the following program, and will at all times fight for it, whether elected or not.

TAXATION

We support and will fight for a graduated assessment tax, to decrease the taxation on the workers and small home owners and place it on the homes of the wealthy and upon industry.

RELIEF

All cash relief at the preset scale, 35 percent above the Campbell report; to include clothing and provisions for non-consumable articles, such as household utensils.

WATER

We advocate an immediate investigation into the water department, because of the failure to reduce the water rate after a reduction had been obtained from the city.

A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS FOR TOWNSHIP EMPLOYEES

With no reduction in pay, to lessen unemployment in the township.

ABOLITIQN OF RELIEF LABOR

This work to be done by men taken off the relief rolls and paid at the municipal rate of pay. We shall fight for a 40-hour week with no reduction in pay.

FRANCHISE

The right of everyone to vote upon reaching the age of 18. If the youth are old enough to go to war, they're old enough to vote.

WORKS PROGRAM

We shall fight for a bold housing program to replace the rotten slum areas with modern comfortable homes for workers at low rentals. This will offer constructive employment to the hard-hit building trade workers. One of the chief tasks of labor must be to centralize relief costs and public works financing in the Federal Government, so that the small home owners and farmers do not bear the brunt of costs. The burden must be placed on those best able to bear it; the higher incomes and wealthy corporations.

Alongside of these demands, which are necessarily restricted to the Township of York, the Socialist Workers' League on a national scale fights for a program of action which should be of considerable interest to every working man and woman.

A large number of railway workers who live in York Township will be particularly interested in our program on the railroad question. We fight Sir Edward Beatty's scheme to have the C.P.R. swallow up the C.N.R., not merely be opposing amalgamation, but by championing the unification of the railroad system **under workers' control.** No other plan will

prevent economies being effected at the expense of the workers. A sliding scale of working hours will divide all the work at hand amongst all railroad workers with no reduction in pay. Naturally this will have to be done at the expense of the rich C.P.R. stockholders and C.N.R. bondholders, but we cannot shed any crocodile tears over those people who have plundered and robbed the natural resources of this country and who now lead parasitic lives at the expense of the working people.

WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE POWER INDUSTRY

Hydro inquiries have demonstrated conclusively that the present system of state "ownership" is merely a front for corruption, graft and super-profits. We must put an end to the reign of the power barons, and unify the industry throughout Canada under the control of workers' committees.

The right to work is the last serious right left us in a society based on exploitation. **We stand for work and decent living conditions for all.** If capitalism cannot give us this, then let it perish.. There is only one road that labor must travel, and that is towards independent working class political action. That road alone can guarantee us the right to live.

Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

And let us begin by voting for Bill Butterworth in Ward III, and we shall then have made a beginning in the proper direction.

York Township Branch

SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE OF CANADA

(Canadian Section of Fourth International)

CITIZENS of YORK TOWNSHIP

It is our hope that the information contained in this leaflet will enable you to better understand the present desperate plight of the unemployed and how you may assist them in their time of need.

Relief Allowances Cut

Until April 1st a family of four on relief received for a week $4.14, 7 quarts of milk and 10 loaves of bread. The mother, therefore, had to provide 84 meals—less than 5c. per meal—out of this pittance.

Every cent spent on soap, sewing cotton and other such items necessary to health and decency still further reduced this amount.

This represents the average relief scale except that the amount per person is less as the number in the family increases.

On April the 1st the Provincial Government cut these meagre allowances by 10%.

How can any family live on this? Figure it out for yourself!

What of Our Youth?

On April 15th all single persons over 18 years of age receiving relief are to be struck off entirely. Nobody, not even those who made this decision, can suggest where they may find work.

SOME MAY BE YOUR BOYS OR YOUR NEIGHBORS! What will become of them!

Everybody's Problem

Unemployment affects not only the Unemployed, but is the main source of the difficulties of the BUSINESS MAN, the PROFESSIONS, and the TAXPAYERS generally.

How has unemployment affected York Township?

The total amount expended on Relief in York Township in a year averages $1,250,000. This is approximately 50% of the wages those receiving relief would earn if they were employed at wages. Taking into account those unemployed and not receiving relief, it is clear that the people of this municipality each year have a loss of income through unemployment that greatly exceeds the total relief budget. Since money circulates more than once in a year the loss of purchasing power of the people of York Township runs into millions of dollars.

THIS EXPLAINS EXISTING BUSINESS CONDITIONS, LACK OF BUILDING ACTIVITY, THE INABILITY TO PAY TAXES AND THE LOSS OF HOMES.

Reduced relief means reduced wages, income and purchasing power of our people and increases rather than reduces the burdens of other sections of the population.

Unemployed Oppose Increase in Taxes

The Unemployed of York Township are unanimously opposed to the present relief cuts and demand their immediate restoration without any increase in taxes or any extra levies such as were imposed upon our citizens in 1936.

The people of York Township must bring pressure to bear upon the Provincial Government to restore the relief to the standards prevailing before April 1.

Citizens of York Township

Support your unemployed citizens in this emergency!

Send protests to the Provincial Government.

Telephone or write your representative in Parliament and members of Council to support us.

Authorized by York Township District Council of Unemployed.

We formally made a decision to enter the CCYM last July and by September all our members with the exception of a few of the more prominent were in the CCYM.

Just before the Provincial convention we sent an open letter to the PEC explaining our intentions and asking for admittance as individuals. The convention obviously under the control of the PEC rejected us by a vote of19-6. Also they made it quite plain that no political discussion would be carried on at the convention,first by pointing out that a prov. convention does not discuss political policy and secondly by voting against the idea of a national convention of delegates.

Of necessity then we have to consider our next move ,whether it is correct and possible to attempt a back-door entry into the CCYM via the idea of the Socialist Youth League, or whether a serious analysis of the present situation leads to the conclusion that we must take for our perspective for the immediate future the preparing of a split in the CCYM with the purpose of building anew an independent revolutionary youth organization on the basis of the program of the 4th. Int.

Most of the former opposition to entry did not come from a principled consideration-(that is considering that at no time and under no circumstances is it correct for a revolutionary organization to enter into reformist or centrist groupings for the purpose of winning recruits to a marxist program) but on the contrary came from the point of view of tactical opposition-(entry was premature-there was no left-wing base already existing from which we could direct our attacks on the bureaucracy, no left-wing on which we could have decisive influence: and that due to this fact we would not be permitted from carrying on serious opposition work in the CCYM) i.e. e.g. ##)

However when the final decision was made, those who had opposed entry from that standpoint accepted the discipline of the majority and collaborated loyally both inthe EC and in the membership in carrying out the decision as effectively as possible. Despite all our efforts,however, we were formally refused. Whatever the individual actions of our comrades that have caused some criticism, it must be recorded that this refusal primarily was due to the present state of affairs in the CCYM and it is onthis that we must base our perspective.

First let us consider why we enter reformist or centrist organizations generally: we enter the reformist and centrist organizations in the first place because they are experiencing an influx of workers breaking away from the bourgeois influence andat the same time powerful leftward developments are taking place in these parties , while on theother hand we are comparatively isolated from the main stream of the labor movement. We enter in order to win as large a number of recruits as possible for our program, and although we may spend the first period entrenching ourselves, it must be recognized that in order to carry out these tasks we must have an increasing-amount of freedom to express our point of view. As this will entail a struggle with the bureaucracy and right wing it is quite obvious that unless there is a left-wing tendency already existing (perhaps not grouped around a definite program but of whose existence there cannot be the slightest doubt on whom we can not only base our work upon and try to influence after entry but whose existence is an essential prerequisite for effecting entry) we stand very little chance of successfully combatting the right-wing. For as soon as a revolutionary grouping enters a reformist or centrist grouping the right wing inevitably organizes itself and begins a fight to isolate and expel the revolutionaries,and as they are in control of the apparatus it is absolutely necessary that we have a real "native" base from which to work.

Left wing.

It was precisely the lack of this base on the one hand andon the other considerable doubt as to "the ever-quickening flow of workers into the CCYM and CCF" that was the basis of our opposition to ,entry last July and it is presisely the lack of this ~~xxxx~~ left-wing native base at the present time coupled with the obvious fact that the CCYM is following ~~the road of~~ disentragation that makes ~~xx~~ necessary that we reject the perspective of the CCYM for the present and the immediate period ahead ~~xxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

For the past year the CCYM has steadily declined,neither of the developmeni foreseen by Kennedy took place- on the one hand the rapid influx of young workers did not take place and on the other hand the native left-wing tendency did not develop to any appreciable extent.

It is for thses reasons that we do not consider it correct to orient ourselves towards this now obviously decaying organization until such times as the the young workers really begin to come into the CCYM, untill such times as a left-wing tendency befins to develop but ~~orien Kennedy~~ can produce no evidence to show that there is the slightest trend in this direction.

Now as to the immediate perspective ~~of Kennedy~~ outlined in the theses drawn up by com. Kennedy. - that of buildinga Socialist Youth League-building an organization reformist or centrist in nature,affiliated to the CCF wither through the CCF district units, or through the already existing Socialist Youth Club andto work for future fusion with the CCYM on a democratic basis.

Taking the general analysis of the IS which states that inthis period the parties of social democracy and centrist groupings will experience a rapid influx of workers who are becoming class-conscious and that powerful left-trends will make their appearance in these parties and that revolutionaries cannot isolate themselves from this movement, Kennedy mechanically applies this to the Canadian scene at the present time. That such a movement will take place is quite probable and perhaps even inevitable but that does not mean by a,long shot that the CCF and the CCYM are the organizations that will receive this influx. On the contrary the fact of the matter is that thse organizations have been disentragating ever since the Federal Electi and show no signs of checking this downward trend. This is due not only to to the fact that this movement of workers away from the bourgeois parties has not reached a considerable proportions as yet, not only to the internal situation in the CCF and CCYM, but is due very much to the fact that there is a much more powerful reformist grouping in Canada, with just enough ~~xxxx~~ revolutionary background to capture the imagination of the masses-the CP. a factor which Kennedy did not even bother to consider. He states that we must get in on the "ground floor" but to get in on the ground floor necessitates a foundation in the first place for the arguement and that is precisely what is lacking-there are no signs that would indicate of this movement to the CCF and the CCYM. He thinks that the fact that we cannot get into the CCYM officially matters but little,"the CCYM is bound to grow" therefore we must get in the back door-via the Socialist Youth League. He sees a small grouping in the East End of Toronto of perhaps 10 members at the most that broke away from the CCYM PEC on the question of dues (Back payment)formed a Young Socialist Club, whese activity centers around dances and has a very poor social composition, an organization that has absolutely no idea of building a socialist youth league as opposed to the CCYM nor is not particularly interested in getting back into the CCYM o r of conducting a ny serious socialist activity and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ it is towards this group that Kennedy suggests we orient ourselves in the forth coming periods, but he says "the potentialities are there"- what potentialities that exist exist only in Kenedys mind. There is no evidence, no signs, at all that any serious minded marxist can claim as proff of thse potentialities.

In other words there is no reformist groupings that we can enter at the present time, there is no centrist groupings ~~af all~~ so as the CCYM must grow (although everything but Kennedy's imagination points ~~xxxxx~~ that the opposite is true) we must get in on the ground floor of the centrist groupings (which do not exist) in order to achieve back-door entry into the CCYM~~$~~ which is stead ly disentragating and shows no signs of checkingthis.

Then too to successfully build the Socialist Youth League to any size would require the ~~mothering hand of~~ approval the CCF orver its head, Kennedy in thinking this a possibility grossly underestimates the connections between the CCF and the CCYM as if the former did not know of and approve our exclusion from the CCYM.

What then is the perspective that must be adopted- generally speaking it is this to begin immediately to prepare the ground in the CCYM for a split, towards the reconstitution of the SYL. In other words to orient ourselves ~~xxxxx~~ on the basis of the above analysis, away from the CCYM and towards an independent revolutionary youth organization.

This split cannot take place overnight, it must be carefully prepared ,leaving all members in the CCYM at present, recruiting to the Bunch as rapidly as possible, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ and carrying out the split in the most dramatic manner possible. As for those who cannot officially get in their cases should be taken up separatedly as to their individual merits.

What does preparation of the split mean- it means opening up more political propaganda in the CCYM forcing issues. recruiting to the bunch at an increased rate of speed. It means a very careful scrutiny of every event so as to determine its significance; so that we will be able to determine the exact time when to carry out the above intention and set up an independent revolutionary youth organization. note.

Will this not interfere with the WPC and the CCF orientation? at this stage

A CCF orientation in the first place does not necessaruly mean entry,in reality it means orientating ourselves towards the adbnced workers and by that recognizing that our main emphasis at the present time is put on propaganda activity. In the seconfd place what has been said of the CCYM also applies to a greater or lesser to degree to the CCF. Since the Federal elections is has been steadily decaying and no left-wing can be discerned. Underlying the whole matter is this- the development of this ovement that the IS thesis spoke of is a dialectical one; that is on the one hand you have the workers who are becoming class-conscious under the pressure of events breaking away from the bourgeois parties and flowing into the scial democratic and centrist organizations and on the other hand the development of powerful left-wing trends inside these organizations. These two developments take place side by side and mutually interact on each other andd on the organization as a whole, a revolutionary kernel entering into this stream can crystallize this movement around itself as the nucleous ~~xxxx~~ despite the efforts of the bureaucracy to prevent it.

The point that we make is that this movement has yet to take place in Canada particularly in Ontario where most of our forces are concentrated and even when it does it is not at all certain that the CCF and CCYM will be the organizations affected. We make no prophecies beyind saying that ~~xxxx~~ perhaps new centrist trends will spring up or perha s because of the pecularities of developments in Canada the CP will attract because of its left coloration the majority of those who are breaking away from the Capitalist parties.

The chief reason why the left-wing trends have been so slow in developing in the CCF andthe CCYM if because of the lack of influx of workers during thw past 12-16 months and also one of the reasons why this did not take place was due to the internal srtucture of the CCF and CCYM .

See over

That is why briefly we cannot orient ourselves towards the CCYM or enter the CCF at the present tim and also why we must continue the present independent existence of the WPC and prepare immediately for a a split in the CCYM and the reconsituting of the independent revolutionary youth organization on the program of the Geneva Congress of the 4th.Int.

Clark
Dowson (Morray-ed)

5?

"5?" (Attached)

Now as to the perspective of Keenedy.
That is, to work on the basis of the Socialist Youth League, with a perspective of building an organization, affiliated to the CCF either through the district CCF units orthrough the existing Socialist Youth Club. And working fo fusion at a future time with thenCCYM and on a democratic basis.

1. The SY.Club in the East end has only at the most 10organized members and an active nucleous of6. It was formed on the basis of a non-payment of dues to the P.EC.. Its active work consists in running dances and has no idea of extending itself as a Soc. Youth League. Beaches does not exist as an organized body.

2. East York- in the first place it would not "shake the CCYM to its foundation" if it left. Opposition to the P.EC. comes to a great extent onthe financial problem although there can be no doubt that they are more class-conscious andmilitant than the CCYM and are willing to allow political freedom of discussion. They are intensely local in outlook and the possibilities of another double-cross on Tonners part is quite probable.

3. Kennedy grossly underestimates the connections between the CCF and the CCYM. There can be little doubt that the CCF knew of and approved of our exclusion from the CYM. There is no possibility of getting the mothering hand of the CCF on this SY Club. The SY club will be immediately labelled Trotskyist and as far as the posibilities of effecting fusion with the CCYM ,the experience of the Danforth is sufficient to show tha even if the CCYm acepted the SY club it would be on the condition of the exclusion of the former members of the SYL.

Generally speaking we go into reformist and centrist organizations intorder to win their membership for our program, we go in to disentregate these brakes on the workers movement, not to build them but to break them.

Our perspective.
1. Leaving all members in the CCYM who are already there witha view to build up theBunch at an increased rate od speed and to open up more political propaganda in theCCYM with a view to laying the basis of a split towards forming a revolutionary youth organization.

Those members who cannot get in the CCYM -their case can be discussed on the basis of their individual merits.

CP 6? (Attached) -ed.

This is not a complete thesis but more of a skeleton form of what ~~we propose~~. should be done.

1. We enter into reformistorganizations and centrist groupings because they have a mass following and are attracting the young workers who are rebelling aginst capitalism and on theother hand because we are a comparatively isolated grouping.

2. We enter in order to win as large a number of recruits as possible to our program and in order to do this we must be able to carry on in comparatively open manner our propaganda.

3. As this will entail a struggle with the right wing it is easily seen that the success of our tactic depends on the fact that a left-wing current coming towards a marxist position is in existence, that is a definite left-wing perhaps not oopenly organized but nevertheless inexistence as a tendency that can be discerned.

4. The reason for this, is that we must have some base from which to work, not only after we get in but also on which to our actual entry on.-so that we have some "native"base from which to work against the bureaucracy.

5. As soon as we begin to work in a reformist or centrist organization, the right wing immediately tightens up and organizes its forces against us and unless we have no native base from which to work it is alost inevitable that they will succeed in their attacks against us.

With these things in view let us look at the CCYM, quite objectively and analyse itself it and our experiences since we entered in July.

1. The CCYM is not a groeing mass organization of the youth, in fact it is disentragrating. We base our judgemnet not on this or that individual happening buton the general tendency of the movement. And here we must record the fact that the CCYM is at the present time and has for the past period been disentragrating and shows no immediate possibilities of checking this. At least there are no signs on which we can base ourselves to say that the CCYM will begin to grow rapidly. Perhaps some os indulging in wishful thinking will say that the CCYM is bound to grow andthat we must orient ourselves accordingly. This is a fallacy, we must base ourselves on fact not o our imagination .

2. The CCYM at the present time presents little possibility for open propaganda even in elementary programs.
There was no left-wing to base our work on and such does not exist even now 9outside the Bunch) and herein lise the root of our difficulty. That is why entry was premature and also why we failed to be admitted into the CCYM.

Now as to the basis

THE MARXIST POCKET LIBRARY

Lessons of OCTOBER

by Leon Trotsky

Translated from the Russian by John G. Wright

With an Introduction and Explanatory Notes
by Maurice Spector

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(7)

INTRODUCTION

BOTH in point of circumstance and intention, the *Lessons of October* was designed to be more than merely an essay in historical research. Had it been only that, however, and no more, its contribution would still rank as invaluable. The complete knowledge of the events that culminated in the Soviet insurrection is now available in the incomparable narrative of Trotsky's monumental history. But when the present text first appeared in 1924, the October period was shrouded in a deep haze. One need take two instances only. The bourgeois world regarded the Bolshevik success as a piece of lucky improvisation. Communists, especially of the West, mystically thought that, minor exceptions apart, the Bolsheviks had tackled the revolutionary crisis with requisite political foresight and as a concerted unit.

That the Russians themselves failed to clear up this confusion, cannot have been altogether because they were pre-occupied with the tasks of social reconstruction. The pre-October history of the party did not suffer the like neglect. The fact was that the analytical study of October threatened the prestige of "vested interests." The bureaucratic regime entrenched after Lenin's death had cause to avoid a close scrutiny of the record. Lenin's Testament had said of Zinoviev and Kamenev that "their retreat in October was not accidental." Neither was it accidental, the study of October would reveal, that in the absence of Lenin, the entire

Bolshevik Old Guard had failed to gauge the character of the 1917 revolution. Consciously or otherwise, it was for this reason that they slurred over the October experience as an incident in party history no more important than some others. For Trotsky, on the other hand, the crucible of October furnished the acid test of Marxist strategy and the calibre of the leadership. The Communist International must assimilate the lessons of the October experience or invite disaster. But the reaction had already set in and the party bureaucracy was far more interested in consolidating its own national power. Trotsky, under whose "immediate leadership," in Stalin's own statement, "all the work of practical organization of the insurrection was conducted," became the target of a campaign of unparalleled virulence. Unable to ignore revolutionary history, the bureaucracy decreed its falsification. The attack on the *Lessons of October*, disingenuously called the "literary discussion," was thus to mark an important stage in the struggle between Stalinist nationalism and Leninist (or "Trotskyist") internationalism.

The immediate occasion of the *Lessons of October*, Trotsky's introduction to his collected writings of 1917, was the debacle of the German communist movement in 1923. In the post-war years, the key to the Western revolution indubitably lay in the hands of Germany. Strangled by the fetters of Versailles, the most highly industrialized and concentrated economy of Europe repeatedly provoked class antagonisms to the verge of explosion. Anxious in 1923 to recover its freedom of action, the German bourgeoisie decided to abandon its policy of reparations "fulfilment" for that of passive resistance. When the Cuno government failed to make delivery of certain payments in kind, Poincaré ordered the occupation of the Ruhr. To finance the costs of resistance,

the Central Government, reserves and credit gone, had recourse to the worst inflation in modern history. But those who paid the price were neither the subsidized Ruhr industrialists nor financiers like Stinnes who built up colossal fortunes. The victims were the middle classes whose fixed incomes were pitilessly expropriated and the working class whose wage levels were forced down to less than subsistence levels. The foundations of the social structure cracked; confidence in bourgeois democracy, never too strong, was shattered; hatred of the Versailles Treaty mounted.

Increasingly the masses turned for salvation to communism. If after the debacle, the Communist party was still able to muster 3,700,000 votes and augment its Reichstag representation, there is every indication that in 1923 the party could have rallied a decisive majority of the masses. Yet the entire extent of its action was limited to forming a coalition ministry with the left-wing Social Democrats of "Red" Saxony, a ministry which in the brief interlude of its existence, failed to proclaim a single revolutionary measure, unless it could be the agreement to indemnify the King of Saxony! At one point the party leadership finally did screw up its courage to fix the date of insurrection. But Brandler made some rapid computations to show that the bourgeoisie had superior military forces and the Central Committee immediately revoked its decision. Acting under the Emergency Powers Act (Belagerungszustand), von Seeckt's Reichswehr thereupon seized the initiative, ejected the "Red" Saxon government, and proscribed the Communists. While Brandler, Thalheimer and other party officials fled to Moscow, American capitalism entered the scene with the Dawes Plan and the situation was again stabilized.

Eight months after this passive surrender of the party, the Fifth Congress of the Communist International met to take stock. Unfortunately, its deliberations were animated less by the critical spirit of Lenin than the imperturbable optimism of Voltaire's Doctor Pangloss. The "parliamentary Saxon comedy" came in for glib condemnation and there were loud protestations never to embark on another coalition with "left" Social Democrats. There was considerable talk about having misjudged the "tempo," ready denunciation of the right wing danger, and endless ballyhoo in favor of "bolshevization." Above all, the Congress was concerned with saddling the responsibility on Brandler and whitewashing the pontifical Moscow Executive. The one thing the Congress failed to take into account—the essence of its problem—was as Trotsky put it, that "in the circumstances of the present epoch, a revolutionary situation can be lost for several years in the course of a few days."

Throughout his political career, Trotsky has conceived the destiny of the Russian proletariat to be bound up with the prospects of the European revolution. As far back as 1905 he had already concluded that in an economically backward country like Russia the revolution could create conditions enabling the proletariat to conquer power earlier than in a capitalistically advanced country. The victorious proletariat would not, he held, stop at the program of bourgeois democracy; the attempt to solve the agrarian problem would involve a clash with capitalist as well as feudal property, leading to the program of socialism. At least as fully as anyone else, Trotsky recognized the need of immediate and practical domestic measures to strengthen the sole existing dictatorship. His *New Course* in the Soviet economic crisis of 1923, had been a forceful plea in behalf of economic

planning on the basis of the widest possible workers' democracy. But Trotsky no less than Lenin realized that in the last analysis the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union could only be assured by the European revolution. The productive forces had outgrown the national boundaries, and no matter how great the economic successes of an isolated workers' state, the program of "socialism-in-one-country" was a petty-bourgeois Utopia. Revolutionary reverses abroad would inevitably menace Soviet Russia with an ever tighter capitalist encirclement. The Bolshevik Old Guard could no more remain exempt from the long-term pressure of adverse social forces than any previous revolutionary leadership which had suffered degeneration. The salvation of the Revolution demanded the extension of its frontiers.

Practically then, this necessitated the development of communist parties, rooted in the masses, and strong enough to take advantage of any revolutionary crisis to conquer political power. The reason the post-war revolutionary wave had not engulfed the bourgeois states lay in the absence of communist parties that could wrest the leadership of the mass movement from the hold of the conservative Social Democracy. How little Trotsky's emphasis on the role of leadership has in common with conspiratorial Blanquism is evident from the decisive part he took along with Lenin, in defeating the putschist element at the Third Congress. In 1921, the leaders of the German Communist party, acting on their "theory of the offensive," initiated an armed uprising at a time when the party lacked sufficient mass support and the revolutionary tide had ebbed. What Trotsky urged in order to put the party in a position to conquer power, was to penetrate the masses by means of a realistic approach to their experiences in the daily struggle, and by means of the

policy of the united front. But in 1923 the problem was very different. What presented itself now was that despite capitalist disintegration and a revolutionary situation, a communist *mass* party could still remain paralyzed. The closer the advent of the revolutionary crisis, the more imminent—the crisis in the revolutionary general staff. A right wing would arise to rationalize its irresolution and wind up by denying the presence of any revolutionary situation at all. It would insist that "time was on our side," that the situation would grow steadily worse, and the chances of ultimate victory more certain.

To throw light on this aspect of the revolutionary crisis, should have been the task of the Fifth Congress. But unfortunately for the future of the Comintern, the character of the Russian leadership of that Congress was such as to cast complete doubt on its competence to sit in judgment over the Germans. The epoch of imperialism demands at least two indispensable qualifications of a Marxist leadership: to understand the significance of the proletarian revolution, and to grasp the crucial moment of a revolutionary crisis to complete the turn from agitation to insurrection. Until Lenin's return from abroad in 1917, however, not a single member of the Bolshevik Old Guard had envisaged either the conquest of power or the socialist revolution. Their role, in fact, had been quite indistinguishable from the left-wing Social Democrats. "Of course, there is no question among us of the downfall of capitalism but only of the downfall of autocracy and feudalism," so wrote the *Pravda* edited by Kamenev and Stalin in March 1917. If Russia had yet to complete her democratic revolution, the proletariat had loyally to confine itself within the limits of the "old Bolshevik" slogan of "democratic dictatorship" as opposed to proletarian

dictatorship. The Provisional Government had to be supported "conditionally" and "in so far" as it would renounce annexations or conclude peace. Only under the iron-willed leadership of Lenin and his biting criticism of the old-Bolshevik formulas, did the party effect its re-orientation. Demanding a complete break with the bourgeois regime, the April Theses set the masses on the road to insurrection and soviet power.

If the ideological re-armament of the party in 1917 was the great achievement of Lenin, its disarmament since 1924 may be said to be largely the fruit of Stalin. When he wrote the *Lessons of October,* Trotsky could not have been fully aware that it was Stalin who would become the pivot of the bureaucracy, though Lenin's Testament had sounded a profound note of warning. Certainly he could not have imagined that the slightest criticism of Stalin would in time be visited by penalties harsher than for lèse majesté under the Tsar. Or that the day would dawn when both Kamenev and Zinoviev, Presidents, respectively, of the Moscow and Leningrad Soviets, would be done to death by Stalin's firing squad. Not till 1935 was it borne in on Trotsky that the Thermidor had overtaken the Soviet regime already a decade earlier. The ever growing differentiation of wages, of privilege and of rank was to create an aristocracy, nationalist in outlook and incompatible with Soviet democracy. Not only was the Left Opposition, expressing the socialist interests of the unprivileged working class, to be crushed, but the internationalist (Leningrad) wing of the Old Guard was itself to be devoured. The authority successively of the Politbureau, the Central Committee and the Party Congress was swallowed up by the omnipotent General Secretary.

The principal source of this reaction lay in the numerous

defeats of the world proletariat; nevertheless it was the Stalinist Comintern that contributed to these defeats most heavily. Despite violent intervals of ultra-leftism, Stalin's general line is best illustrated by his opportunist attitude to the German events of 1923. Characteristically, while joining in the full-throated hue and cry for the heads of Brandler and Thalheimer, Stalin had been covertly supporting a position almost identical with their own. In the letter to Zinoviev and Bukharin, which the former made public in 1927, Stalin wrote, ". . . if today in Germany, the power so to speak falls, and the communists seize hold of it, they will fall with a crash. That is the 'best' case. And, at the worst, they will be smashed to pieces and thrown back. The whole thing is not that Brandler wants to 'educate the masses' but that the bourgeoisie, plus the Right Social Democrats, will surely transform the lessons—the demonstration—into a general battle (at this moment all the chances are on their side) and exterminate them. Of course, the fascists are not asleep, but it is to our interest that they attack first; that will rally the whole working class around the Communists (Germany is not Bulgaria). Besides, according to all information, the fascists are weak in Germany. In my opinion, the Germans must be curbed and not spurred on."

The direct antithesis of the *Lessons of October*, this thoroughly opportunistic statement of Stalin's was wrong at almost every point. In the light of events, the conclusion that "Germany is not Bulgaria" unconsciously reaches the level of the grotesque. The fascists must attack first because that will rally the workers around the Communists, but the fascists are weak, so . . . the Germans must be curbed. Whether in Germany, France, or Spain today—in every revolutionary situation since 1923—the strategical wisdom

of Stalinism has been this same line of curbing the masses. The argument closely resembles that which some "old Bolsheviks" used to oppose the insurrection of 1917. But not only that. In the struggle against the *permanent revolution*, the bureaucracy has also reverted ideologically to the outlived formula of 1905 Bolshevism, the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." It may be discovered, in one form or another, as the theory behind the "bloc of four classes" in the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the Workers and Peasants' Parties for the East, the People's Front now.

The Stalinist attempt to set up a workers' and peasants' coalition, not to realize socialism but merely to liquidate autocracy and feudalism has worked out catastrophically. As in the Chinese Revolution, the Comintern must, for the sake of its alliance with the Kuomintang, curb agrarian uprisings and workers' strikes. The anti-Trotskyist "theoreticians" cannot or will not grasp the simple fact that the old state machine was smashed and the agrarian revolution consummated not by the Kerensky but the proletarian regime. The "democratic dictatorship" formula is imposed on the colonial East ostensibly to "liquidate the remainders of feudalism." For the capitalist West, where Stalinism is now dedicated to saving "the vestiges of bourgeois democracy," it has devised the panacea of the People's Front. If there was one country in the world where the support of a People's Front might appear to have been justified, it was preponderantly peasant Russia, which had not yet passed through the stage of the democratic revolution. A version of the People's Front did in fact exist there—the coalition of the Cadets (liberals), Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, to which Stalin and Kamenev had lent "conditional" support. Yet

Lenin's entire strategy was directed against the alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie and towards the overthrow of this People's Front. Leninism never confounded episodic agreements and compromises for practical ends, with the very different matter of common policy and program. The independent role of the proletariat in the class struggle, and its hegemony, were axiomatic. Neither was there any place in Lenin's Marxism for a regime transitional between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat. State power, he held, was the basic question in any revolution. A "combined" type of state, the Soviets representing the proletariat and the Constituent Assembly the bourgeois power, was to Lenin a simple renunciation of Marxism and socialism.

As with the Chinese "Bloc of Four Classes" formerly, the People's Front is defended on the ground that it represents an alliance between the proletariat and the middle classes or peasantry. The People's Front is in fact, however, only tolerated by the bourgeoisie because it allies the proletariat with the status quo of capitalist democracy. The People's Front stands for bourgeois law and order; it orders police action against peasant seizure of the land and the workers' occupation of the factories; it votes the military budget. The alliance with the middle classes is not formed through the representatives of the petty-bourgeois parties dependent on finance-capital, the Azañas, the Daladiers and the Herriots. Under the sledge-hammer blows of the capitalist crisis, the former middle class faith in reformism gives way to the demand for sweeping and radical solutions. If the proletariat presents a revolutionary program and demonstrates its capacity for leadership it will win the middle classes. If the proletariat fails, the demagogy of fascism will succeed.

The struggle against fascism is not to be won by the defense of the corrupt and bankrupt regime of bourgeois democracy. The touchstone of revolutionary strategy today is Spain. Here is a country which affords striking similarities with the essential conditions of the Russian revolution—a belated bourgeoisie tied up with feudal exploitation of the land, an oppressed peasantry too amorphous itself to assume national leadership, an active proletariat of matchless courage and self-sacrifice. Neither the Azañas nor the Companys have given the slightest indication that they can solve the democratic tasks of the revolution any better than Kerensky. But the Stalinist bureaucracy has decreed the issue in Spain to be "democracy versus fascism," and by word and deed the La Passionarias and others are doing all in their power to stifle the proletarian revolution.

Perhaps some will think the burden of the *Lessons of October* very important for Europe but somewhat remote from the problems of the American worker. There could be no greater mistake. The basic changes in the social structure of the United States have already occurred. The crisis of the Thirties brought American capitalism to the verge of collapse. The morale of the ruling classes was ominously shaken. If the result was merely the New Deal instead of socialist reconstruction, it was because there was no party of the proletariat on the scene, powerfully enough rooted in the masses to assume revolutionary leadership. Given the fundamental limitations of the New Deal, the recurrence of the crisis is inevitable. Unless the socialist vanguard of the American working class sees this clearly and takes measures accordingly, history will not deal with it more kindly than with the German or Austrian proletariat. Our epoch is one of concentrated class struggle; one country after another is

drawn into the vortex of social upheaval. The German revolution of 1918 is followed by the Hungarian revolution of 1919. The Italian workers occupy the metal factories in 1920. There is the German crisis of 1923 and the British general strike of 1926. Vienna flares up in 1927. The Chinese revolution of 1925-27. The German catastrophe of 1933; the Austrian barricades; the French general strike of 1934 and occupation of factories in 1936. Civil War grips Spain. Tomorrow it may be the United States. To avoid defeat, the proletariat must prepare. Fabians and Laborite politicians who view socialism as a see-saw struggle for fifty-one per cent of the vote, do not understand this—but the conquest of power is quite unlike sponsoring a new Bill. Punishment for political sloth in our days is swift and terrible. The proletariat cannot, like the British Empire, muddle through. It is not necessary to believe that the Bolshevik organization was always a clockwork mechanism, perfect embodiment of all the Comintern's fifty paragraphs on party construction. It did embody experience, initiative, self-sacrifice. It was the pressure of the organized worker-Bolsheviks that made Lenin's victory in the Central Committee possible. The conclusion is inescapable. Without a revolutionary party, trained in the methods of Marxism, the spontaneous mass movement remains blind.

The theme of power has recently been taken up by writers of the school of Mr. John Strachey. But their approach is in striking contrast to the *Lessons of October*. Trotsky believes that the proletariat must learn to beware not only of social-democratic reformism, but no less of the disastrous policies of the Stalinist Comintern. In his "Coming Struggle for Power," Mr. Strachey subjects the Social Democracy to withering criticism, but tactfully, even miraculously suc-

ceeds in writing a chapter on The Nature of Communism, without any earthly reference to the actual record of the Comintern. In this he is like another expert on the problem of power, his countryman Mr. Palme Dutt, who monthly excoriates the crimes of the Labor Party and the Second International, leaving his readers with the distinct impression that only the Communist party is eternally sublime, true and beautiful. Trotsky spurns this political smugness as a complete disservice to the revolutionary cause. For that reason he is today again in a minority, and as these lines are written, driven to find asylum in Mexico. There are those who consider that because Stalin has the power to persecute, Trotsky must have been wrong. To them Lenin once gave the answer: "We are not charlatans. . . . We must base ourselves on the consciousness of the masses. Even if it is necessary to remain in a minority, be it so. We must not be afraid to be in a minority. We will carry on the work of criticism in order to free the masses from deceit. . . . Our line will prove right. . . . All the oppressed will come to us. They have no other way out. . . ."

MAURICE SPECTOR.

New York, January 11, 1937.

The proletariat cannot, like the British Empire, muddle through. It is not necessary to believe that the Bolshevik organization was always a clockwork mechanism, perfect embodiment of all the Comintern's fifty paragraphs on party construction. It did embody experience, initiative, self-sacrifice. It was the pressure of the organized worker-Bolsheviks that made Lenin's victory in the Central Committee possible. The conclusion is inescapable. Without a revolutionary party, trained in the methods of Marxism, the spontaneous mass movement remains blind.

A PROGRAM FOR THE SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP. - A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

1. Canadian capitalism is caught up in the ebb tide of world capitalist. Its newness, the fact that Canada has not been exploited to the full as have the older capitalist countries of Europe, cannot save it from the effects of world capitalist crisis which, as it grows deeper, plunges the masses of the people into the direst poverty, batons them with the club of dictatorship and flings them into the horroes of war.

2. The crisis of 1929 threw more than one quarter of Canadian wage earners on the relief rolls. Starvation rations were the lot of thousands upon thousands of Canadian workers. But the crises of the future will be more vicious and deadly in the effect than the last, and capitalism is unable to grant reforms to remedy the condition of the masses or even to alleviate the plight of the unemployed. Canada is already experiencing a decline in its economy - it is already entering another crisis although for many thousands the 1929-33 depression is still not yet finished.

3. The inability of Canadian capitalism to grant concessions to the workers in the form of better living conditions and adequate relief for the unemployed is reflected in the tendencies in Canadian governments. Unable to cope with the effects of the new depression, which is not yet felt to the full, the only recourse left to capitalist government is theroad of repression. Duplessis in Quebec, with the Padlock Law and open support of the fascist Arcand; Hepburn in Ontario with his vicious treatment of the Oshawa strike last year and the Lakeview relief strike this year; Aberhart who, while spouting demagogic promises, endeavors to suppress the most elementary democratic rights; all these are indications that Canadian capitalism will place the burden of capitalist decline on the backs of the masses.

4. Alongside this increased tendency towards repression in Canadian "democracy" is arising the menace of fascist organization. The Arcand organization, while not yet sufficiently powerful to be a factor in Canadian politics, is the seed from which a full fledged Canadian fascism may spring.

5. Most menacing of immediate prospects is the possibility of a new world war in the very near future. Into the horrors of this new war Canada, subject to pressure both from Great Britain and the United States as well as possessing a capitalist class of its own with an imperialist axe to grind, cannot avoid being drawn unless the masses of workers and farmers take decisive action.

6. The condition of Canadian, as of world capitalism calls for a bold socialist policy. The only reply to the challenge of the capitalist class in its efforts to hold onto what it has is the rallying of the masses around a socialist program. Not a program of socialism for the indefinite future but a program of socialist demands for immediate application. The CCF must arm itself to meet the needs of the present period with a bold program of working class demands. The weakness of its present policy was clearly reflected in the last provincial election in Ontario. Its program was a rehash of vague demands which did not touch the vital issues facing the workers. It had no attractive power. Hepburn, the demagogic tool of the mining and power interests, once more swept the field. The CCF offered nothing as an alternative to the policy of Hepburn.

7. The Socialist Policy Group proposes that the CCF adopt a program of Socialist demands and poses the following as the most immiately necessary:

A). Under the British North America Act the Privy Council has the power to veto Canadian legislation and to pass judgement on the decisions of the Canadian courts. It has conistently, in recent years, played the Provincial governments against the Federal government, making it possible for the Dominion govt. to pass the buck onto the provincial governments as an excuse for not putting into effect progressive social legislation (unemployment insurance, etc.). The power of the Privy Council must be removed; government of this country must be exercised within this country and not from abroad. A fisrt socialist demand is:

Abolition of the Power of Veto by the Privy Council!

B). The first demand is only a beginning. Complete self-government means nothing by itself. The masses of the Canadian workers and farmers must take their destiny into their own hands. They must be taught to administer the affairs of this country - economic as well as political - in the interests of the Canadian masses. Rule from St. James St. by the "50 Big Shots" must be abolished. Capitalism cannot give the masses a decent livelihood - the masses must assume control and exercize it in their own interests. Along this road the CCF must take two immediate demands:

1. ~~In preparation for the crisis now beginning in Canadian economy~~

In order to protect and entrench itself in Canadian economy, the CPR is propsing the unification of the two railrodd systems - Canadian National and Canadian Pacific. The unification proposed by the CPR ~~xi~~ is aimed directly at the railroad worker at whose expense the unification economies will be effected. Against the capitalist slogan of unification must be posed the slogan of !

A UNIFIED RAILROAD SYSTEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

This means: a) expropriation without indemnification to the CPR stockholders or the CN~~R~~ bondholders.

Through subsidies, grants of land (some of which have been sold for millions of dollars) and so on, the CPR has reaped a tremendous harvest in the past. The reaping of this harvest has been at the expense of the Canadian worker and farmer. Indemnification of the CPR stockholders for capital wrung out of the pockets of the Canadian masses is unthinkable. Indemnification means the perpetuation of the burden of supplying profits to landgrabbers and parasites.

b) Control by committees of the railroad workers will ensure freedom from utilization of the railroads (via the capitalist state) in the interests of the "50 Big Shots". How this can be effected in a "nationalized" industry has been amply demonstrated in the evidence submitted to the enquiry into the Ontario Hydro's contracts with the Quebec power companies. It will ensure the railroad worker against the effecting of amalgamation economies at his expense.

c) Workers control can be used as a means of aid to the Canadian farmer who has been one of the victims of extortion by the railroads through high freight rates. The rich capitalist corporations can be made to pay the shot for a change while the farmer will get the preference.

2. The Hydro Enquiry has heard evidence pointing to the fact that although in theory the Ontario Hydro System is a publicly owned institution, it has been used deliberately in the interests of the power barons of St. James St.. A second immediate demand must be:

Workers Control of the Power industry!

the electrical power systems of every province to be made into one system under the control of workers' committees. Put an end to the milking of Canadian economy by the power barons!

C) The question of unemployment is becoming a more burning issue with every passing day. A permanent army of unemployed, of increasing proportions, has been established. Technological improvements plus decreased production as an effect of capitalist decline have thrown thousands on thousands out of employment while many more, the youth predominating, are leaving the impoverished farming districts of the ~~West~~ Prairie Provinces for the industrial cities of British Columbia and the East and are swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Unorganized, the unemployed cannot fight for adequate relief or fight back against the police repression to which they are subjected each time they attempt to obtain better conditions. The CCF must strenuously work for the organization of the unemployed and join them in the fight for:

Adequate relief administed by the Federal government!
An extensive program of public works at trade union rates of wages!

D) CCF Trade Union policy.

E) The menace of fascism. Unless the Canadian worker is to be ground under the iron heel of fascism he must resist every attempt on the part of the Canadian capitalist class to promote the organization of fascist bands after the manner of the Arcand group which, from Quebec, is now endeavoring to establish itself in Ontario. The prime requisite of a worker's organization is that it show itself capable, through its program and its policy and in action, of being capable of solving the problems that face the Canadian worker and farmer. This will snatch from the influence of fascist demagogy those elements who turn to fascism as a way out of the miseries they suffer under capitalist "democracy". But this alone is not enough. Subsidized by rich capitalists a fascist minority may succeed in seizing power by force of arms unless ~~eternal vigilance~~ constant vigilance is observed by the working class organisations, exposing the manoeuvres of the fascists at every turn and preparing to meet them with their own methods. The CCF must take the initiative in creating

Workers' Defense Corps

drilled and trained to meet the fascist bands on their own ground. To defend workers meetings against fascist thugs and to resist the attempts of the fascists to win support with their demagogy.

F.) The war danger. Under the deceptive slogan of "defense of democracy" a new world conflict is in preparation. Against this preparation the CCF and the Canadian workers must conduct an intransigant fight. The entry of Canada into a world war will mean the slaughter of thousands of Canadians in the interests of the capitalist robbers of Canada as well as those of Great Britain and the United States. The slogans of "Neutrality" and "Keep Canada out of war", by themselves, are useless. So long as the decision for entry into a war rests with the capitalist government of Canada there can be no assurance that Canadian workers and farmers will not once more be sent to the slaughter. The decision must rest in the hands of the Canadian workers and farmers themselves, and so long as the war industries and the implements and organization for war remain in the hands of the capitalists and the capitalist state they cannot make the decision. While their exists a standing army under the control of the capitalist ~~state~~ through class through its state the defense of Canadian soil again t foreign aggession will mean nothing but the defense of the interests of canadian capitalism. The CCF must advance and fight for the following slogans if it is to give the workers and farmers of this country real leadership in a real and not sham struggle against war:

1) Publication of all agreements and treaties with ~~the British Empire~~ Britain or with any other country.
   In a recent speech Campbell McInnes made the statement that he had information as to the way in which Canada was to be drawn into world conflict but for certain reasons he could not make his information public. This is a disgraceful position for anyone who calls himself socialist to hold. The workers who will be asked (if they are given that privilege) to fight in the coming war must be apprised of the nature of the obligations entered into by the government. Their exposure is in the interests of the working masses.

2) Expropriation of the war industries (International Nickel, Canadian Industries Ltd, etc.) and their management under workers' control.
   The control of the Canadian war industries is a decisive factor in the conduct of war. While Leagues for Peace and Democracy are asking women to wear lisle hose and boycott Japanese silk, Canada is sup lying Japan with 97% of the nickel which that country is at present importing.

3) No money or men for government war purposes. ~~All~~ Armament funds to go to a program of public works.

4) Put the defense of Canada into the hands of the workes and farmers. The workers and farmers to be armed for this purpose and training schools for officers (the students to be chosen by the trade unions and other workers organizations) established for training of military experts in the workers and farmers [illegible]

The N.C. submits the following statement for your signature in order to help clarify the situation in the Party and to help bring to an end the sharp factional atmosphere that has existed since the commencement of the discussion on entry into the CCF. The presentation of this statement has become necessary because the refusal of those who voted in the minority on the question of the CCF to accept nomination in the elections to the N.C. and the recent walkout from a party meeting give rise to doubts as to the intentions of some comrades of the party. Only a clear and unequivocal statement can dispel these doubts and lead to a solution of the difficulties within the Party.

Statement.

A. I agree to work loyally in the party for successful entry into t the CCF and, if it is made possible, to work within the CCF in the best interests of the ideas represented by the organizations of the 4th. Int. in accordance with the decision on CCF entry made by the Party and will abide by decisions in this direction which may be made by this organization in the future.

B. I agree to accept any responsible position or task which the organization may decide to give me, unless satisfactory reasons are given, and to carry out any tasks with a view to making successful the line that the Party has adopted.

RVCurr-1938-1000

Internationalism — Our Banner

By MAURICE SPECTOR
Co-Editor, New International

...pillar of the ... fascism became more rapid and more powerful. Fascism is today on the offensive. The Munich pact signals the complete bankruptcy ... edifice of collective ...

In Two Sections
Section 1

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

See Section 2 for Documents of World Congress

VOL. II—No. 46 | Saturday, October 22, 1938 | 375 | Five Cents per Copy

WORLD CONGRESS FOUNDS FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Congress Climaxes 15 Years' Struggle

Fourth International Emerges From Fight Against Degeneration in the Third International

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Just as the main body of the Communist International came out of the Second International, so the roots of the Fourth International are to be traced to the beginnings of the crisis in the Third.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the movement now organized under the banner of the Fourth International first took shape. It arose in the form of the Opposition in the Russian Communist Party, variously called the "Moscow" or "1923" or "Trotskyist" Opposition. Uniting the best elements of the Old Guard and of the youth of the Party, and led by Leon Trotsky, it was the first to sound the alarm against the growing menace of degeneration in the ruling party and the revolution itself.

Against Bureaucratism

...diga, also solidarized itself substantially with the Russian Opposition, and met the usual fate at the hands of the Kremlin machine. Virtually the entire party leadership in Belgium was arbitrarily ousted for the same reason. The same occurred in varying degrees in all the parties of the International.

Subsequent Struggles

In the course of the inner struggle which followed in the International, centering mainly around the question of the capitulation of the Stalinists to the British labor Bureaucracy, culminating in the fiasco of the 1926 General Strike and the notorious Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee; of the Chinese Revolution, in which Stalin reduced the communist, the working class and peasant movements to so many serfs of the

Thirty Delegates From Eleven Countries Raise New Banner

New International Created in Midst of European War Crisis Gives Voice to Revolutionary Opposition to Imperialist War

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL FORMED

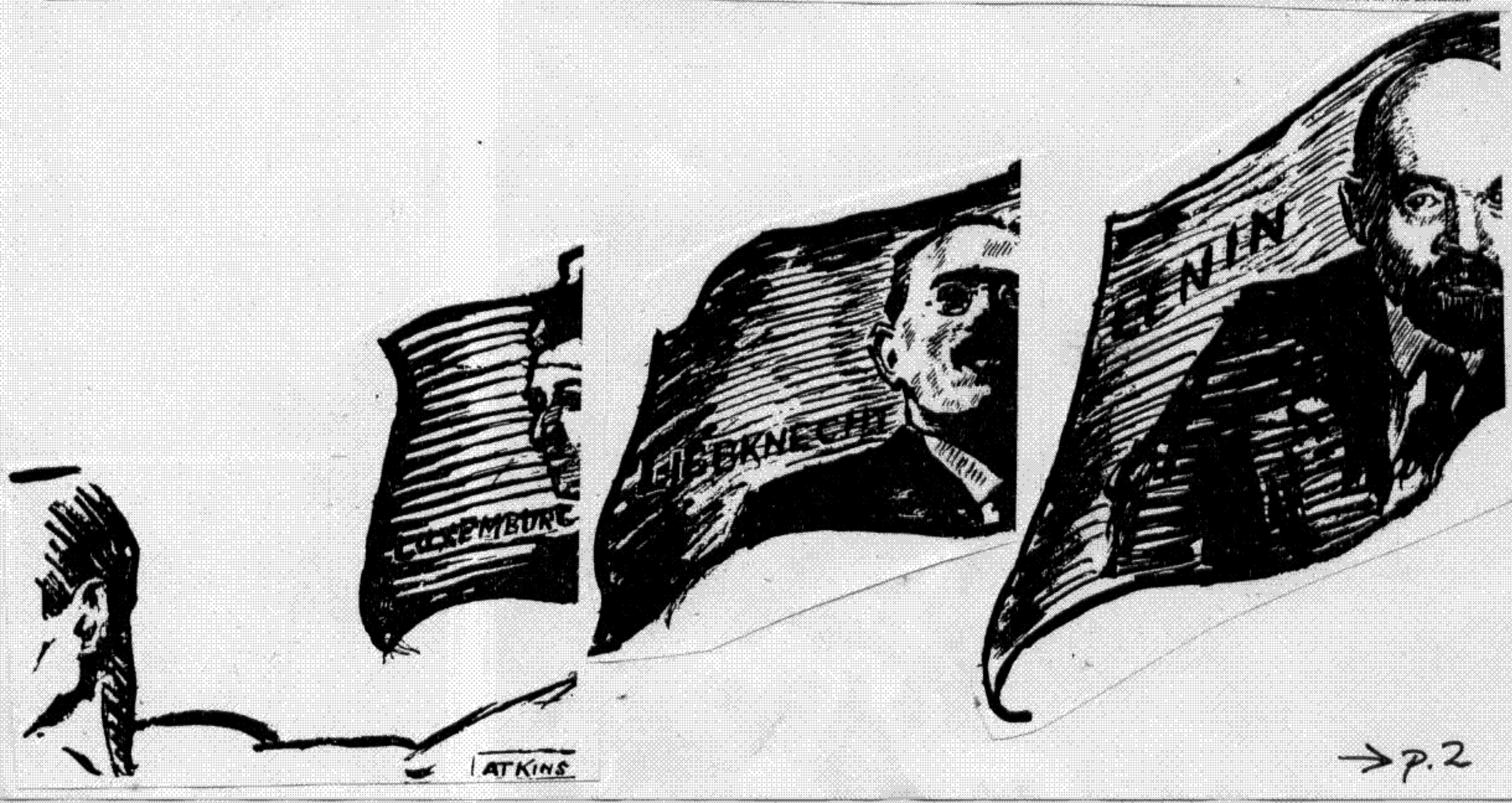
The Fourth International has been founded.

Meeting in the midst of the threatening war crisis in Europe, 30 delegates from eleven countries proclaimed the new World Party of the Socialist Revolution. A Youth International was simultaneously created.

The delegates represented organizations in the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Latin America, Poland, Belgium, Holland, and Greece.

Unable to send delegates because of conditions of distance, illegality, and other adverse factors, were organizations affiliated to the Fourth International in Spain, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Indo-China, China, French Morocco, the Union of South Africa, Canada, a number of Latin American countries, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Lithuania, Palestine, Rumania, and several other countries. These organizations had already signified in advance their adherence to the new banner.

The world congress that raised the new internationalist banner met in strictest illegality "somewhere in Switzerland" on September 3, 1938. Because of the necessity



→p. 2

Internationalism — Our Banner

By MAURICE SPECTOR

Co-Editor, New International

If there was one pillar of the early Comintern that seemed more unshakable than Gibraltar, it was its intransigent internationalism, its basic policy of world revolution. The Communist International was conceived during the world war in the course of the revolutionary struggle against social patriotism.

The collapse of the Second International was due to its opportunistic adaptation to the capitalist legality of the national state. To pillory the social patriotism of the Social Democracy, to attack its policy of coalition government, to denounce its fetishistic support of bourgeois democracy, its voting of military credits, all this was part of everyday communist agitation and propaganda. Whenever the international situation sharpened, the air resounded with Comintern pledges to work for the transformation of any imperialist war into a civil war.

Lenin's Teachings

Every communist knew that Lenin had drawn two decisive conclusions from the law of the irregularity of capitalist political and economic development: (1) that, contrary to the opinion of Kautsky, it was possible to begin the revolution in a single country, without waiting for the rest of the world, but (2) that it was impossible for a single country to achieve the victory of socialism without the advance of the frontiers of the revolution in the industrial West. There was no ambiguity about this.

Again and again he repeated that the existence of the Soviet republic alongside the imperialist states was in the long run impossible. One or the other would triumph. The big historical problem of the October revolution as he saw it, and as the entire Comintern appeared to agree, lay in resolving the international problem by means of stimulating and organizing the world revolution.

So long as the post-Leninist struggle inside the Russian Communist party proceeded on such apparently separate questions, as workers democracy, the lessons of the German communist failure of 1923, the experiences of the Anglo-Russian committee, and economic planning, many communists of the West, increasingly restive over the turn of events and the character of the Russian discussions, were still uncertain. In many cases it still seemed possible to reconcile the conflicting views within the framework of the same party and International. Loyalty to the Communist International permeated such militants to the core, and decisions would involve a rupture with what they had been accustomed to regard as "the General Staff of the World Revolution" were not taken lightly.

The Final Straw

What shook their faith in the post-Leninist Moscow leadership to the point where "loyal" acceptance of the majority thesis was no longer possible, was the final emergence of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." The stand that the Russian Opposition made against this revision of Leninism proved to be a stand against the Stalinist counter-revolution. There were friends of the Opposition who thought that Trotsky was unduly magnifying the issue and allowing himself to be outsmarted. The Brandler-Thalheimer group attempted to minimize the issue as academic. Even close sympathizers of Trotsky, reading his Critique of the Draft Program of the Comintern during the Sixth Congress (1928) wondered if its author was not anticipating too much and too readily.

Experience itself has established that the official adoption of the theory of socialism in a single country, a product of the ebb of the revolution in Europe, and the defeats administered to the working class, has become the fully rounded out formula of Stalinist social-patriotism and the degeneration of the Comintern.

Renunciation of Revolution

The tactics of the Leninist Comintern in a period of capitalist stabilization were necessarily different than in a period of stormy assault on the capitalist fortress during a revolutionary crisis. But the policy of Stalinist national socialism involved a renunciation of the proletarian revolution itself. Since the adoption of that policy the consequences for both the Soviet Union and the international proletariat have been increasingly tragic. What happened, objectively speaking, is that Stalin joined Hitler in crushing out the revolutionary spirit of the working class vanguard. Even their methods became indistinguishable.

With every retreat from the policy of world revolution, with every new improvisation of popular frontism, the advance of fascism became more rapid and more powerful. Fascism is today on the offensive. The Munich pact signals the complete bankruptcy of the whole edifice of collective security. The Popular Front is a shambles.

The Stalinists sold out the interests of the French working class for the sake of "the defense of the Soviet Union." Their "realism" has left the Soviet Union in a position of the greatest isolation. After absorbing Czechoslovakia, as he had absorbed Germany before that, thanks to the cowardly passivity of the Comintern, Hitler is now proceeding with plans for the political and economic hegemony of Europe and the future partition of the Soviet Union.

There Is No Substitute

It has been proved that the revolutionary aid of the Western workers cannot be replaced by imperialist alliances without catastrophic results for the October revolution. The Permanent Revolution, the special object of Stalinist hatred, has been replaced by permanent executions. National socialism in Russia has destroyed the soviet super-structure, replacing it with a totalitarianism as complete as Hitlers. The "socialist accumulation" of the five-year plans under Stalin rivalled the infamies of early capitalist accumulation.

Twenty years after the October revolution and the "complete victory of socialism," Denny of the New York **Times** reports that the coming winter in the U.S.S.R. is expected to be one of the hardest. The old familiar queues stretch for blocks, Twenty years after, the masses still wait for a pair of boots, an overcoat, a dress, a bottle of milk, a pound of butter.

Undermine the Only Force

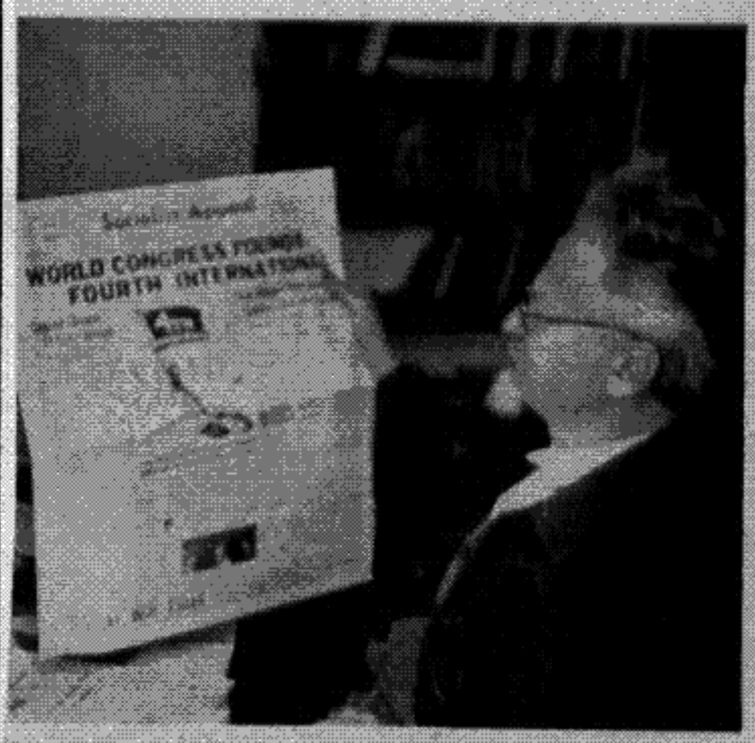
The one force that could solve the Soviet Union's "international problem" was the working class and this is the force that the Soviet Union has consistently undermined. The policy of Soviet national socialism has been to use the workers abroad merely as diplomatic cannon fodder. Armaments are greater than ever, the power of Hitlerism has expanded,—and the workers have been filled with the virus of social patriotism.

The masses deep down are against imperialist war, They are ready to struggle for peace. The task is to show them that peace is attainable only by a struggle for power. But the Stalinist parties join with the most extreme reactionaries and nationalists in their agitation and incitement for war.

The Stalinists, like Browder in the United States, no longer even talk of the "defense of the Soviet Union." They proclaim their readiness to go to the defence of their own capitalist "fatherlands." They urge their own capitalist classes to protect and further their investments in colonies and markets abroad, so that the "democracies" can checkmate the fascists in South America or China!

The sole repository of the revolutionary internationalism of the early Comintern is now the Fourth International. The small groups of the new International in all countries have courageously struggled against the current of social-patriotism and uncompromisingly exposed the sources of Stalinist corruption. The Fourth International can have no illusions that it has the present strength to deter the imperialists in their war-provocations, or save the U.S.S.R. from inner degeneration or outside attack. This strength must come from the masses and the successful penetration of the masses by the revolutionary Marxists.

from: LIFE Magasine



Trotsky officially founds his own Fourth International in September 1938 in competition to Stalin's potent Third and Socialists' feeble Second

An Open Letter

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

We address ourselves to those workers and militants within the ranks of the Communist Party who in their own minds and hearts still preserve the aim and ideal of the workers' revolution, who remain within the Communist Party because they believe that by doing so they are serving the cause of socialism.

We know that there are such members of the Communist Party. We know that they have, in reality, nothing whatever in common with the cynical, depraved, corrupt bureaucrats who, at the bidding of the Kremlin, direct the Party, nor with the horde of petty bourgeois riff-raff which has swarmed into the party during the past two years of Popular Frontism.

To these workers and militants, we say:

Comrades, what is your answer to the Trial of the 21?

By this trial, Stalin has now wiped out the last of Lenin's intimate colleagues. Through the trials and the purges, he has executed virtually the entire membership of Lenin's Central Committee, of the Central Committee which led the October Revolution.

You do not have to take our word for this. The membership of the Central Committee, the names of the close associates of Lenin, are a matter of public historical record. You can check up easily for yourselves.

Do You Believe In The October Revolution?

In 1917 and 1918 the imperialists and reactionaries everywhere told us that the Russian Revolution was made by a gang of cut-throats, bandits, spies, murderers.

Do you believe this? Or do you believe with us that the Russian Revolution was the greatest and most magnificent event in the entire history of mankind?

Today Stalin tells you exactly the same story that the imperialists and reactionaries told us in 1917 and 1918. If you believe Stalin now, then you must believe that the imperialists and reactionaries were right to begin with.

Vyshinsky states that Yagoda was a poisoner, a brutal sadist, a liar, a depraved and degenerate tyrant.

This is true.

But for a decade Yagoda was Stalin's right-hand man, acting directly under Stalin's orders. Look back through the official press and you will find that this is clearly and unquestionably true.

Yagoda prepared and managed the Trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev. According to Vyshinsky himself, therefore, the Trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev was prepared and managed by a poisoner, sadist, liar, and tyrant.

Is This Socialism?

Let us suppose that the trials are true. Stalin tells you that socialism has irrevocably triumphed within the Soviet Union. What kind of "socialism" is it, then, that turns all of its founders and builders into mad dogs, that makes them prefer to work for the blackest fascism rather than for the "socialist" regime? What kind of man, then, must Stalin be if everyone who works for him very soon develops such a hatred that he spends all his time plotting to kill him?

But, of course, the trials are not true. *You yourselves know in your hearts that they are not true,* that they are a gigantic frame-up.

Do you really believe that the cause of socialism can be served by frame-ups, by lies, by assassinations?

Why then are you silent?

Why not stand up in your Party units and demand answers to the questions which in your own minds shout for replies? Why not read the books, histories, pamphlets, newspapers which can put the facts about the Russian Revolution into your possession? Why not discuss, argue, compare? You know from Marx that action which is blind is a thousand times useless for the working class.

Truth Alone Serves Our Cause

Are you afraid of the truth? *If you are afraid of the truth, how, then, will you have strength to face the revolution?*

But there is no reason to fear the truth. Illusions, shams, treacheries—these are shattered and smashed by the truth. But our great movement, the movement for the emancipation of humanity, is nourished and grows strong by the truth and by the truth only.

You must act, comrades, and act quickly. You read the general press. You will see that no one believes this new trial. You will see also, however, that they are using this new trial to launch a vast campaign against the socialist ideal itself. The trial proves, they say, "the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of socialism." And their conclusion is: to submit once more and forever to the tyranny of capitalism.

By your silence you aid this reactionary campaign, which threatens to destroy the entire Marxist movement.

Stalinism, Not Socialism, Is Bankrupt

This campaign is a lie from start to finish. The trials in no slighest degree involve the ideal of socialism. *The trials are the direct contradiction of socialism.* What they prove utterly and completely is the final bankruptcy of *Stalinism;* what they prove for all time is that Stalinism and everything it represents is the destroyer, not the continuator, of the revolution.

This is the only possible answer that can be given to the campaign of reaction. No other answer can stand up under the attack, no other answer can vindicate the ideal of socialism.

And if you do not give that answer, you yourselves will be compelled to abandon your ideal. You will slip down once more into the ranks of the passive, broken slaves of imperialism.

Do not abandon your ideal! Join with us to defend it against *all* of its enemies. Only that ideal, the ideal of the classless socialist society, has hope or promise for men.

You will find that ideal guarded untarnished within the growing regiments of the Fourth International. In the face of the nightmare trial, in the face of the yawning crisis, the march of totalitarian reaction, the black clouds of the approaching war, let us carry forward our ideal, to a sure and lasting triumph!

A reprint from the Socialist Appeal, *national organ of the Socialist Workers Party, March* 19, 1938.

Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS

RYKOV
Shot

BUKHARIN
Shot

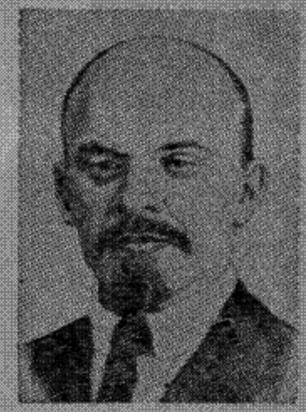
SVERDLOV
Dead

STALIN
Survivor

ZINOVIEV
Shot

KAMENEV
Shot

TROTSKY
In Exile



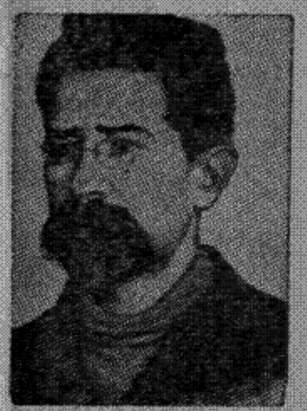
LENIN
Dead

KOLLONTAI
Missing?

URITSKY
Dead

KRESTINSKY
Shot

SMILGA
Shot



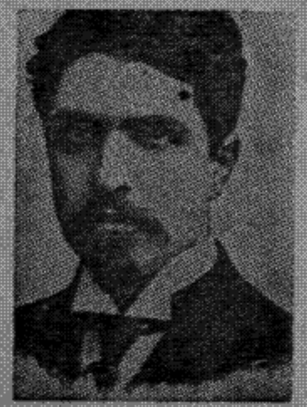
NOGIN
Dead

DZERZHINSKY
Dead

BUBNOV
Disappeared

SOKOLNIKOV
In Prison

LOMOV
?



SHOMYAN
Dead

BERZIN
?

MURANOV
Disappeared

ARTEM
Dead

STASSOVA
Disappeared

MILIUTIN
Missing

JOFFE
Suicide

The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917

December 16th, 1938

Statement of the National Committee

Our experiences within the C. C. F. have drawn to a close and the foundation of the Socialist Workers League is on the agenda. The character of the Party remains the same as the former Workers Party. We are essentially a small propaganda group prepared to send out the call of revolutionary socialism to the more advanced workers.

Insofar as the more advanced layers are to be found within the Communist Party, C. C. F. and their periphery organizations, much of our activity must be directed towards these parties. An important task will consist in the establishment on a sound basis of fractions in these organitions as preparation for the canalization of internal discontent that will result from the next upsurge of the masses in Canada or abroad.

But our forces permit we must enter upon concerted drives of short duration to penetrate specific factory areas with our literature in the form of pamphlets, leaflets and newspapers. To this extent at least we will be able to turn our faces to the masses and gather into our ranks either as members or sympathizers, elements untainted by the degeneration of Stalinism or by the sterile reformism of the C.C.F. To all workers alike we must make our appeal through well-planned mass meetings and weekly forums.

Besides this generalized aim of the S.W.L. we must set for ourselves bold objectives for the coming years and because of the immanence of war every muscle must be strained in the next six months to reap the harvest of our united efforts. Our objectives must be: 1) To double our membership. Once this task is accomplished the S.W.L will be well on the way to creating a framework for a national organization. 2) To establish headquarters. A headquarters, as its name implies, the head of a party, the organizing centre for all activity. 3) To establish a printed organ This is by far the most urgent and immediate job that confronts us. A party without an organ is a party without a voice. We must at once engage upon a vigorous campaign to raise sufficient funds to set a monthly organ on a sound financial basis and when the objective conditions warrant it, our paper must appear twice a month. A newspaper not only carried our program to the workers and supplies a basis for our activity, but also educates our own membership thru the application of our revolutionary principles to concrete situations on the Canadian and international scene. 4)To acquire a paid organizer. The full fruits of any work that we carry on can be harvested only thru the hands of a paid organizer. 5) To organize a youth section. We must gear ourselves to the increased tempo of international events. The spring or at most the fall, will see a new war crisis and it would be a betrayal of the Canadian working class if, small as we are, we did not make every sacrifice, financial and physical, to prepare ourselves for the coming catastrophe. We have a programe of transitional demands which we can carry to the Canadian workers if we have the will; we must find the will.

A Last prerequisite is necessary for the proper functioning of the new party. While functioning as the S.P.G. within the CCF, the very nature of our task within the loosely disciplined party made the enforcement of strict discipline difficult and at times impossible. As an independent party the usual Leninist rules of democratic centralism must be impressed on our membership. While we have complete freedom of discussion at the ti e and place appointed by the membership, there must be at all times unquestioned discipline in action. Those who by inactivity or persistent refusal fail to accept tasks assigned to them in the ordinary course of party work can find no place in a revolutionary organization. This cannot be too strongly emphasized.

FORWARD TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW PARTY!

FORWARD TO THE PARTY PAPER!

Evaluation of C.C.F. entry Feb. 16, 1939
(Unsigned; author Earle Birney (Robertson) active in setting up the Socialist Policy Group into the CCF– Jack MacDonald in semi-retirement – Spector in New York)

Due to pressure of other practical work – the press campaign for the *Socialist Action***,** the organization of an anti-Fascist united front, study classes, etc., the P.C. has been able to give little time to a lengthy evaluation of the entry. It believes that the question merits only brief consideration; however, as a long drawn out rehashing of old dead issues, and revived mutual recriminations between those for and against entry would be not only academic and fruitless, but actually harmful to the conduct of our political work. An evaluation is useful only if it reviews the facts of the entry, its weaknesses and actual results, in order to clarify our present position and guide us in our future course.

The W.P. of C. dissolved itself as an independent organization in Ontario, May 1937. The majority of its members entered the C.C.F. as individuals after negotiations with John Mitchell had gained assurance that our applications would be accepted and that revolutionaries had a place in the C.C.F., as long as they abided by its program and discipline. This maneuver was strictly tactical and in line with the international policy of our movement at that time to strengthen itself by accelerating and capturing the leftward trend within the social democracy.

In Canada it was hoped to crystallize a left wing within the C.C.F. – a national mass labour party of several thousand workers with considerable following, especially in the West, and members in Federal and western provincial parliaments – at a time when our own organization was becoming increasingly discouraged and demoralized because of our isolation from the mainstream of the workers. Unfortunately for Canada, our application of this policy was delayed and disastrously weakened by the prolonged factional struggle preceding entry. After several months of bitter internal friction, we entered the C.C.F. at the beginning of the summer season, so that it was not until the fall and winter of 1937-1938 that we could integrate ourselves and begin to gain a hearing by virtue of our work in the organization. Our activity suffered immeasurably not only from the loss of valuable time, but more important, from being hamstrung by insufficient members for fraction work. The unbolshevik behaviour of the minority comrades who were unable to discipline themselves and abide by the majority decision and work loyally to carry out this decision must bear a large measure of responsibility for the limited results accruing from the entry.

Handicapped in these ways, we were unable to overcome the added handicaps of the predominantly middle class composition of the C.C.F. in Ontario and Toronto, and the strong grip of the right wing bureaucracy on the organization. In the pre-convention discussion of the winter 1937-38, we were able to send forward several progressive resolutions passed by a few of the Toronto clubs in which we were influential. The formation of the S.P.G. as the open left wing of the C.C.F. and the publication of the special war bulletin of *Socialist Action* for the convention marked the climax of the entry. The Easter ’38 Convention however was a triumph for the right wing bureaucracy. It has managed to clear up organization grievances of the membership (Humbercrest split, Bob

Burray, etc.) before the convention, and by smart maneuvering, prevented any political discussion of resolutions forwarded by the clubs, so that it further tightened its stranglehold on the organization.

Our stay in the C.C.F. was now approaching its close. The summer and fall of ’38 witnessed regular publication of the internal *Socialist Action*, and especially by the transitional program for the C.C.F., advancing for the first time in an intimate first-hand way, hitherto impossible, the program of the Fourth International within the C.C.F. ranks. The wider benefits from distributing our program in Ontario and B.C. have yet to be felt.

While not able to crystallize and break off a revolutionary left wing in the C.C.F., the entry had certain positive educational features for our comrades. 1) It gave us a valuable inside knowledge of the C.C.F. set-up, personal contacts with its membership and first-hand experience with its bureaucracy. 2) More important, we have gained a strong talking point against the “democracy,” of the democratic socialists, and can point to our treatment at the hands of the right-wing bureaucrats in answer to workers who demand to know why all socialists cannot unite into one organization. 3) The tradition of being the expelled left wing of the C.C.F. also gives us a more ‘native’ background, in the eyes of Canadian workers. 4) At a time of serious decline in our organization, when we were isolated and unable even to publish our paper regularly, let alone carry on the tasks of a party, the entry kept our organization alive and active. To a certain degree we were able to break through our isolation, and find a medium in which to work. Within the C.C.F. we were for the first time in constant contact with a large number of organized workers with whom we could discuss and put forward our point of view. 5) The necessity of carrying on secret fraction work under the right wing bureaucracy (who act as the bourgeois police agents in times of stress) itself has been of immense value for the education and practical experience of our comrades in preparation for illegal work in the critical days ahead. 6) The necessity of familiarizing ourselves with Canadian problems in talking to advanced Canadian workers in the C.C.F. has been of considerable value in preparing and advancing our own program of transitional demands as against the C.C.F. program.

Certain criticisms might le levelled at the way our fraction work was conducted. Perhaps too long a period was taken for integration into the C.C.F. doing the everyday Jimmy Higgins jobs and keeping relatively silent on questions of principle. This was in large measure due to the lack of discipline and unserious attitude of our members to the new type of work in the C.C.F. During the summers when the C.C.F. went to sleep, more could have been done to keep our own membership active, study groups organized and internal education kept up. Although the financial and other difficulties were great, the “democracy” of the C.C.F. should have been stretched to a greater extent then was done by meetings on Spain, Moscow trials, etc., especially in the manner when open air meetings were possible. The S.P.G. should have been organized much before the Easter-’38 convention, and a fuller program than the incomplete war bulletin prepared, so that we could have utilized the pre-convention discussion period more fully for advancing our viewpoint and get a more complete statement into the hands of the provincial delegates. This resulted from a low integration, itself the direct result of the failure of minority comrades to co-operate and failure of the fusion resulting from the American Chicago

convention.

In pointing out that the entry did not fulfil our hopes, it is not fair however to conclude that it was unjustified. We are now launched once more on an independent existence, and it is fruitless at this point to debate whether it was right or wrong. It cannot be denied though, that our efforts would have been more productive, if, once having taken the decision, our whole membership had been disciplined, and entered as a united body.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
S.W.L. of Canada
Feb. 16, 1939.

(Some pertinent movement pre-war and wartime dates – ed.)
May 1937: "The W.P. of C.*(Workers' Party of Canada)* dissolved itself as an independent organization in Ontario (….) The majority of its members joined the C.C.F. (….) In Canada it was hoped to crystallize a left wing within the C.C.F. – a national mass labour party of several thousand workers with considerable following, especially in the West, and (elected) members in Federal and western provincial parliaments…."

Summer 1937-1938: "….after several months of bitter internal friction, we entered the CCF at the beginning of summer, so that it was not until fall and winter that we could integrate ourselves (….)

Winter 1937-1938: "We were able to send forward several progressive resolutions passed by a few of the Toronto clubs (….) The formation of the S.P.G. as the open left wing of the CCF and the publication of the special war bulletin of *Socialist Action* for the Convention marked the climax of our entry (….)"

Dec. 16. 1938: Statement of the N.C. announces the foundation of the Socialist Workers League "as being on the agenda – Forward to the New party, Forward to the Party paper!"

Today (March 1939): "Our stay in the CCF is now approaching its close (….) In pointing out that the entry did not fulfil our hopes, it is not fair however to conclude that it was unjustified (….)"

September 1939: The 4th edition of the printed *Socialist Action* was closed down by War Measures Act at the outbreak of war. After the resignation and departure from the movement of its editor, *SA* continued publication during the war as a mimeographed bulletin on a sporadic basis until 1942.

1945: the movement regrouped, holding a conference in Montreal in 1944 and founding the R.W.P. before the end of the war in semi-clandestine conditions, and launching the printed monthly *Labor Challeng***e** in 1946.

Lenin on Imperialism

By LEON TROTSKY
February 1939

The eighteenth anniversary of Lenin's death (he died Janu ary 21, 1924) finds our planet engulfed in the second World War.

In the midst of the first world slaughter Lenin had predicted this second slaughter. Still more, he predicted that so long as imperialism survived world conflicts would unfailingly follow. Should imperialism also survive this present war, there will come a third, and a fourth. . . .

By means of the same scientific method which enabled him to predict the course of events under the continued rule of imperialism, Lenin arrived at a realistic program of struggle — the only program which offers society a way out from its impasse.

Lenin reached his maturity in the period of the first World War. His analysis of imperialist wars and the conclusions he drew from this analysis are among the greatest triumphs of Marx ism. It was the Leninist program against imperialism that paved the way for the victory of the Russian masses in October 1917. And this victory in its turn resulted in the termination of the first imperialist world war *(emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

No program other than Lenin's offers today salvation to mankind.

We can think of nothing more appropriate for 1942 than the publication of Trotsky's brilliant summary of the Leninist con clusions from the war of 1914-1918. The document was written by Leon Trotsky early in 1939. This is the first time it appears in English.— THE EDITORS (Note: from the monthly Fourth International*, published by the SWP-US, whose leaders were jailed for their opposition to this World War 2 which broke out when Hitler led Germany's invasion into Poland in September 1939).*

With the outbreak of the war in August 1914 the first question which arose was this: Should the socialists of imperialist countries assume the "defense of the fatherland"? The issue was not whether or not individual socialists should fulfill the obligations of soldiers — there was no other alter native, desertion is not a revolutionary policy. The issue was: Should socialist parties support the war politically? vote for the war budget? renounce the struggle against the government and agitate for the "defense of the fatherland?" Lenin's answer was: No! the party must not do so, it has no right to do so, not because *war* is involved but because this is *a reactionary* war, because this is a dog fight between the slave-owners for the redivision of the world.

The formation of national states on the European conti nent occupied an entire epoch which began approximately with the Great French Revolution and concluded with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. During these dramatic decades the wars were predominantly of a national character. War waged for the creation or defense of national states necessary for the development of productive forces and of culture possessed during this period a profoundly progressive historical character. Revolutionists not only could but were obliged to support national wars politically.

From 1871 to 1914 European capitalism, on the founda tion of national states, not only flowered but outlived itself by becoming transformed into monopoly or imperialist capitalism. "Imperialism is that stage of capitalism when the latter after fulfilling everything in its power begins to de cline." The cause for decline lies in this, that the productive forces are equally fettered by the framework of private prop erty as well as the boundaries of the national state. Imperi alism seeks to divide and re-divide the world. In place of national wars there come imperialist wars. They are utterly reactionary in character and are an expression of the impasse, stagnation, and decay of monopoly capital.

The Reactionary Nature of Imperialism

The world, however, still remains very heterogeneous. The coercive imperialism of advanced nations is able to exist only because backward nations, oppressed nationalities, colo nial and semi-colonial countries remain on our planet. ***The struggle of the oppressed peoples for national unification and national independence is doubly progressive because, on the one side, this prepares more favorable conditions for their own development while, on the other side, this deals blows to imperialism. That, in particular, is the reason why in the struggle between a civilized, imperialist, democratic republic and a backward, barbaric monarchy in a colonial country, the socialists are completely on the side of the oppressed country notwithstanding its monarchy and against the oppres sor country notwithstanding its "democracy."*** *(emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

Imperialism camouflages its own peculiar aims — seizure of colonies, markets, sources of raw material, spheres of in fluence — with such ideas as "safeguarding peace against the aggressors," "defense of the fatherland," "defense of democ racy," etc. These ideas are false through and through. It is the duty of every socialist not to support them but, on the contrary, to unmask them before the people. "The question of which group delivered the first military blow or first declared war," wrote Lenin in March 1915, "has no importance whatever in determining the tactics of socialists. Phrases about the defense of the fatherland, repelling invasion by the enemy, conducting a defensive war, etc. are on both sides a complete deception of the people." "For decades," explained Lenin, "three bandits (the bourgeoisies and governments of England, Russia and France) armed themselves to despoil Germany. Is it surprising that the two bandits (Germany and Austria-Hungary) launched an attack before the three bandits succeeded in obtaining the new knives they had or dered?"

The objective historical meaning of the war is of de cisive importance for the proletariat: What class is con ducting it? and for the sake of what? This is decisive and not the subterfuges of diplomacy by means of which the enemy can always be successfully portrayed to the people as an aggressor. Just as false are the references by imperialists to the slogans of democracy and culture. ". . . The German bourgeoisie . . . deceives the working class and the toiling masses by vowing that the war is being waged for the sake of . . . freedom and culture, for the sake of freeing the peoples oppressed by Czarism. The English and French bourgeoisies . . . deceive the working class and the toiling masses by vowing that they are waging war . . . against German militarism and despotism." A political super-struc ture of one kind or another cannot change the reactionary economic foundation of imperialism. On the contrary, it is the foundation which subordinates the super-structure to it self. "In our day . . . it is silly even to think of a progressive bourgeoisie, a progressive bourgeois movement. All bour geois 'democracy' . . . has become reactionary." This ap praisal of imperialist "democracy" constitutes the cornerstone of the entire Leninist conception.

Since war is waged by both imperialist camps not for the defense of the fatherland or democracy but for the re-division of the world and colonial enslavement, a socialist has no right to prefer one bandit camp to another. Abso lutely in vain is any attempt to "determine, from the stand point of the international proletariat, whether the defeat of one of the two warring groups of nations would be a lesser evil for socialism." In the very first days of September 1914, Lenin was already characterizing the content of the war for each of the imperialist countries and for all the groupings as follows: "The struggle for markets and for plundering foreign lands, the eagerness to head off the revo lutionary movement of the proletariat and to crush democracy within each country, the urge to deceive, divide and crush the proletarians of all countries, to incite the wage slaves of one nation against the wage slaves of another nation for the profits of the bourgeoisie — that is the only real content and meaning of the war." How far removed is all this from the current doctrine of Stalin, Dimitrov and Co.!

* * *

It is impossible to fight against imperialist war by sigh ing for peace after the fashion of the pacifisms. "One of the ways of fooling the working class is pacifism and the abstract propaganda of peace. Under capitalism, especially in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable." A peace con cluded by imperialists would only be a breathing spell before a new war. Only a revolutionary mass struggle against war and against imperialism which

breeds war can secure a real peace. "Without a number of revolutions the so-called democratic peace is a middle-class Utopia."

The struggle against the narcotic and debilitating illu sions of pacifism enters as the most important element into Lenin's doctrine. He rejected with especial hostility the demand for "disarmament as obviously Utopian under capitalism." *(Note however the central demand of the Western anti-war movement of the 1960s for "unilateral disarmament" as an effective means of countering the threat of imperialist nuclear war and deflecting anti-Soviet propaganda -- Web Ed.)*

* * *

The Roots of Social-Chauvinism

Most of the labor parties in the advanced capitalist countries turned out on the side of their respective bour geoisies during the war. Lenin named this tendency as *social-chauvinism:* socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds. The betrayal of internationalism did not fall from the skies but came as an inevitable continuation and development of the policies of reformist adaptation. "The ideological-politi cal content of opportunism and of social-chauvinism is one and the same: class collaboration instead of class struggle, support of one's 'own' government when it is in difficulties instead of utilizing these difficulties for the revolution."

The period of capitalist prosperity immediately prior to the last war — from 1909 to 1913 — tied the upper layers of the proletariat very closely with imperialism. From the super-profits obtained by the imperialist bourgeoisie from colonies and from backward countries in general, juicy crumbs fell to the lot of the labor aristocracy and labor bureaucracy. In consequence, their patriotism was dictated by direct self-interest in the policies of imperialism. During the war which laid bare all social relations "the opportunists and chauvinists were invested with a gigantic power because of their alliance with the bourgeoisie, with the government and with the General Staffs."

The intermediate and perhaps the widest tendency in socialism is the so-called center (Kautsky *et al.)* who vacil lated in peace time between reformism and Marxism and who, while continuing to cover themselves with broad pacifist phrases, became almost without exception the captives of social-chauvinists. So far as the masses were concerned they were caught completely off guard and duped by their own apparatus which had been created by them in the course of decades. After giving a sociological and political appraisal of the labor bureaucracy of the Second International, Lenin did not halt midway. "Unity with opportunists is the alliance of workers with their 'own' national bourgeoisie and signifies a split in the ranks of the international revolutionary work ing class." Hence flows the conclusion that internationalists must break with the social-chauvinists. "It is impossible to fulfill the tasks of socialism at the present time; it is impos sible to achieve a genuine international fusion of workers without decisively breaking with opportunism ..." as well as with centrism, "this bourgeois tendency in socialism." The very name of the party must be changed. "Isn't it better to cast aside the name of 'Social-Democrats' which has been smeared and degraded and to return to the old Marxist name of Communists ?" It is time to break with the Second Inter national and to build the Third. *(Thus wrote Lenin in 1914 at the outbreak of the First World War, as Trotsky here emphasizes, without mentioning that he himself had just issued the call for a Fourth International in 1938 -- Web Ed.)*

* * *

What has changed in the twenty odd years that have since elapsed? Imperialism has assumed an even more vio lent and oppressive character. Its most consistent expres sion is fascism. Imperialist democracies have fallen several rungs lower and are themselves evolving into fascism natu rally and organically. *(As)* colonial oppression becomes the more intolerable, all the sharper is the awakening and eagerness of oppressed nationalities for national independence. In other words, all those traits which were lodged in the foundation of Lenin's theory of imperialist war have now assumed a far more graphic and sharp character.

To be sure, communo-chauvinists refer to the existence of the USSR which supposedly introduces a complete over turn into the politics of the international proletariat. To this one can make the following brief reply: Before the USSR arose, there existed oppressed nations, colonies, etc. whose struggle also merited support. If revolutionary and progressive movements beyond the boundaries of one's own country could be supported by supporting one's own imperialist bour geoisie then the policy of social-patriotism was in principle correct. There was no reason, then, for founding the Third International. This is one side of the case, but there is also another. The USSR has now been in existence for twenty-two years. For seventeen years the principles of Lenin re mained in force. Communo-chauvinist policies took shape only four *(or)* five years ago. The argument from the existence of the USSR is therefore only a false cover.

If a quarter of a century ago Lenin branded as social-chauvinism and as social treachery the desertion of socialists to the side of their nationalist imperialism under the pretext of defending culture and democracy, then from the stand point of Lenin's principles the very same policy today is all the more criminal. It is not difficult to guess how Lenin would have designated the present day leaders of the Comin tern who have revived all the sophistries of the Second Inter national under the conditions of an even more profound decomposition of capitalist civilization.

There is a pernicious paradox in this, that the wretched epigones of the Comintern, who have turned its banner into a dirty rag with which to wipe away the tracks of the Krem lin oligarchy, call those "renegades" who have remained true to the teachings of the founder of the Communist Interna tional. Lenin was right: The ruling classes not only perse cute great revolutionists during their lifetime but revenge themselves upon them after they are dead by measures even more refined, trying to turn them into ikons whose mission is to preserve "law and order." No one is, of course, under compulsion to take his stand on the ground of Lenin's teach ings. But we, his disciples, will permit no one to make mock ery of these teachings and to transform them into their very opposite!

February 1939.

WAR OR PEACE

WORKERS OF CANADA! TODAY, AS IN 1914, YOU ARE BEING BETRAYED INTO WAR!

The Dominion Committee of the Canadian Communist Party (*Clarion*, Aug. 26)

LIES when it says this will be "a just war . . . a war in defense of democracy".

The TRUTH is that the imperialist bosses of Britain and France want to protect their profitable colonies by crushing their German-Italian rivals now.

The TRUTH is that "democracy" has never existed in their colonies and NO LONGER EXISTS IN BRITAIN OR FRANCE.

The *Clarion's* editor (Aug. 26)

BETRAYS when he asks you to "defend the independence of Poland and preserve peace".

The TRUTH is that the Polish masses have no independence. They are ruled by reactionary landlords and army officers who have massacred Jews, outlawed the Communist Party, and deprived the millions of Ukrainians and other minorities of democratic rights.

The TRUTH is that only hypocrites talk of "preserving" peace by making war.

The Communist Party leadership

LIES when it says "the national security and territorial safety of Canada is imperilled" —

The TRUTH is that the Tim Bucks are aiding the Colonel Drews in fomenting a war hysteria —

CONFUSES when it blames Chamberlain for encouraging Hitler.

The TRUTH is that IT WAS STALIN WHO HASTENED THE CRISIS BY GIVING HITLER THE GO-AHEAD SIGNAL —

CONCEALS when it says the Stalin-Hitler deals are simple non-aggression and trade pacts.

The TRUTH is that Russia is commited to supplying Hitler with materials and REFUSING MATERIALS TO POLAND when war comes between them. Read article 2 of the "non-aggression pact (*not* printed in the *Clarion*).

The TRUTH is that STALIN has sabotaged his own fake "peace front" with the "democratic peace-loving countries".

The TRUTH is that TROTSKY WAS RIGHT when last October he predicted a treacherous deal between the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Nazis.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

The Third International is dead. In Canada its leaders join with CCF leaders in preparing for enlistment in the army of the bosses.

BUT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL LIVES. Its Canadian section, the Socialist Workers League, calls for ENLISTMENT IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS in RESISTANCE to the coming war.

The CP's Dominion Committee demands that King declare for war without waiting for Parliament.

We stand for strike, boycott and other forms of organized independent working-class resistance to Canadian participation in the war.

We stand for the continued struggle to overthrow capitalism, against the main enemy, our own capitalists.

We stand for solidarity with the workers of Germany and Italy, against their fascist overlords. We declare that they will be aided in overthrowing their own governments by our fight here at home. We can not make socialists of them by shooting them.

CANADIAN WORKERS EVERYWHERE! JOIN WITH US IN BUILDING THE CANADIAN ANTI-WAR PARTY!

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN END WAR!

THE FIGHT FOR WORKING CLASS FREEDOM IS THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

To get in touch with us write Box 185, Toronto.

ISSUED BY THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE
CANADIAN SECTION OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

PRINTED BY VOLUNTARY LABOUR

MAY DAY 1939

DAY OF STRUGGLE -- AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR -- FOR SOCIALISM

May Day Belongs to The Workers!

Since 1887 May Day has been the occasion on which all workers' organizations have marched in a united front demonstration of class solidarity against capitalism. It has been a day of protest against all that capitalism stands for — against poverty and unemployment, sweat-shop conditions, political oppression, the enslavement of colonial peoples, imperialist war. It has been the day when the workers pledged themselves anew to fight for a better world.

This is as May Day was. But today the Communist Party and the reformist parties are making a mockery of May Day. In every city and country where Stalinism and reformism corrupt the workers' struggles, the Day has either been abandoned (as in France) or turned into A DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF CAPITALISM AND WAR — AS IN TORONTO TODAY.

All those who march in Toronto are compelled to subscribe to the hypocritical slogan: Stop Hitler and Save Peace! Hitler is to be stopped, according to the manifesto of this May Day Conference, by "national democratic unity" and the "united resistance of all peoples"

Workers, these are the slogans of Imperialist War!

Workers in Toronto and everywhere want to stop not only Hitler — BUT HITLERISM. They are against fascism in every country INCLUDING THEIR OWN.

In the last war for "peace and democracy" ten million workers killed each other with what result? The way was paved for fascism in Italy and Germany. Democratic liberties were suspended, in Canada and in all warring countries. British and French imperialism was strengthened The workers gained nothing. THE STALINITE MAY DAY CONFERENCE IS ASKING YOU TO FIGHT IN THE SAME KIND OF WAR! — in support of Chamberlain and Daladier, of British and French imperialisms in their struggles to protect their profits against their rivals.

The "Stop Hitler" war slogan means supporting our own government in war preparations and therefore means scrapping the struggle for colonial freedom and the fight against unemployment, low wages, and all the other "blessings" of capitalist democracy.

The fight for democracy begins at home. If war comes, the workers in every capitalist country will gain only by turning the fight against their real enemy, the capitalist class. Only the road taken by the Russian workers and peasants of 1917 will stop fascism and bring peace.

For A Class Struggle May Day!
Organize the Unorganized! An End To the Sweat Shops!
Demand Federal Public Works Program For All Unemployed— At Union Rates
Demand Transference of the $63 Million War Budget to Unemployed!
Demand Restoration of Relief Cuts!
For Workers' Solidarity Against Capitalism, Democratic or Fascist!
Build Workers' Defense Guards Against Arcand's Thugs!
Down with the Padlock Law!
For Workers' Governments — To Stop Hitlerism and Bring Peace!
Down with the War Mongers — Down with Imperialist War!
Fascism Never! Socialism Forever!!

EVERYBODY OUT

to

Class Struggle May Day Meeting,

LABOR LYCEUM, MONDAY 8.15 P.M.

Speakers include W. BUTTERWOR TH (relief strike leader) and W. KREHM

ON FRIDAY, May 5, Arcand and his thugs are brazenly meeting in Massey Hall. WORKERS! Here is the real enemy, YOUR ENEMY IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY.

Demonstrate your opposition to bloody fascism!

Everybody out to **counter-meeting,** corner Yonge and Albert, Friday May 5, 7.30 p.m

This manifesto issued jointly by League for Revolutionary Workers' Party and Socialist Workers League (Canadian section of 4th International)

(Printed by voluntary labor)

ADIAN CAPITALISM AND THE STRATEGY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

National Status and Foreign Policy

Canada furnishes unique examples of uneven development. These are the results of its historical growth from a backward colony of French feudal commercialism which was conquered by British imperialism, and developed by it and by competing American Imperialism into a semi-independent State with an almost completely natural native capitalism. On the one hand most of its enormous area (Larger than that of the United States) is still either wild or settled under semi-frontier conditions, its population is comparatively tiny (11 million) and its chief export is an agricultural product, wheat.(68%)of total export value, 1936) On the other hand, 55% of the population are already urban (as compared to 12% in 1871) and there are nearly 2½ million wage and salary workers compared to 1 million engaged in agriculture. In one aspect, Canada is still the open battle-ground of American and British imperia-lisms; in another it appears as the comain of a highly trustified and wealthy national bourgeoisie, with ~~42%~~ 62½% of the total capitalization of $18 billion in its own control.

2. Its world status reflects this duality. Theoretically it is an independent dominion within the British Commonwealth, with its own seat at the League of Nations; yet much of its internal legislation is still subject to veto by the Privy Council at London, which has pursued, since the war, a policy of reducing the powers given the Dominion government (by the British North America Act of 1867) by favouring "state's rights" pleas of separate provinces within the Dominion.

3. Despite this, a strong national bourgeoisie has arisen out of the graft and spoilation of primary accumulations in the last two centuries, and has passed into an industrial-financial stage by a long-run policy of protective tariffs against both American and British goods and, since the War, by independent diplomatic maneouvres, as at the London Imperial Conference and the Washington Conference. At the latter Canada sided with the U.S. against the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

4. Nevertheless the foreign entanglements of London are still generally the entanglements of Canada; power to conscript a Canadian army for foreign wars still rests with a Council headed by a Governor-General "appointed by the King" (i.e. by the British Cabinet). At the same time because of Canada's obvious military dependence upon the United States, and because of the increasing pressure of American investments upon Canadian politics, the Canadian bourgeois governments since the war, both those of Bennett (Conservative) and McKenzie King (Liberal), have pursued a policy of compromise between the imperialist and the isolationist tendences in Canadian capitalism. They have kept free of actual alliances for war, but have agreed to maintain naval and air bases for Britain in Canada, and have accepted with alacrity the increasingly large orders for airplanes and explosives being placed with Canadian industrialists, especially since the failure of the Swinton air-armament plan in England.

5. When Britain is actually at war again, Canadian capitalism will no doubt strive to remain neutral, as the least dangerous and most profitable position, especially of the United States is neutral; in such case Britain will probably not find it strategic to bring pressure upon Canada to enter the war as a conbatant. If the United States is on the opposite side to Britain, pro-British capitalists and middle-

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class patriots might wish to fight, but would be swamped not only by the power of the U.S but by the pro-American sentiment of other sections of the Canadian bourgeoisie and of the farmers and workers.

II Quebec and Minority Groupings

1. French Canada, concentrated largely in the province of Quebec, represents an additional argument for neutrality since it resisted conscription in the last war and threatens to secede in the event of another. The Canadiens (French-Canadians) comprise 28% of the total pop. of Canada, 85% of that of Quebec; special clauses in the British North America Act (under which the Dominion was created in 1867) guaranteed for Quebec the rights of separate (Catholic) schooling and equal status for the French language. This has fostered one of the most powerful units of the Roman Catholic church in the world, whose dignitaries openly control provincial politics. The result is a province where women are still unfranchised, the closed shop is outlawed, communist meetings and press prohibited (Padlock Law), and where avowed ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ fascist organizations containing thousands of members drill openly. The majority of the Canadiens are small farmers and agricultural labourers, but increasing numbers of these are being transformed into industrial workers in large-scale factories as a result of expanding American pulp, power, and textile enterprises. The great majority of the Quebec proletarians are unorganized but, as pressure for unionization has grown, the Catholic hierarchy has been forced to foster a separate Catholic Syndicates to prevent a link-up with Canadian national or international unions. But the latter have made inroads despite this and lately the Catholic unions themselves conducted strikes, and have formed joint committees with the A.F. of L. to discuss governmental wage agreements and for local elections.

II. Meanwhile the Canadien petit-bourgeoisie, alarmed by proletarian growth and militancy, and frustrated in their own capitalistic ambitions by the hegemony of Anglo-Saxon capital in Montreal, turn increasingly to the demagogy of the fascist Arcand and his National Christian Socialist Party. Arcand makes exaggerated claims to a following of 80,000; he is said to have links with the Kuhn Nazi groups in the U.S. and is certainly gaining strength. Arcand is smiled upon by the premier, Duplessis, who allows Arcand to edit the government's semi-official organ (L'Illustration Nouvelle). Duplessis' own party, the Union Nationale, elected on a reform ticket after a long and corrupt Liberal regime, plays a balancing role (by such acts as the Padlock Law) between the big-business interests of St. James Street (Canada's Wall St.) and the fascist anti-Semitic separatist support of Arcand.

3. The Canadien represents therefore a large concentrated grouping with separate historical traditions, culture, language and institutions (e.g. French civil law) and consequently with rights of cultural autonomy (e.g. maintenance of language) which must be conceded by the party of proletarian revolution. Nevertheless these racial distinctions are now preserved mainly artificially by the Catholic Church and the French section of the Quebec bourg. for reactionary purposes. Sixty-two percent of Quebec's population is now urban; this rapid proletarianizing of the habitant (Canadien farmer) is breaking down the language barrier and creating a prol. virtually indistinguishable from the rest of Canada and with the same economic future. The chief aim of rev's therefore should be the fusion of the prolet. into the organizations and struggles of the whole Can. and Amer. Proletariat.

4. There are some 50 other non-Anglo-Saxon groups in Canada, which, together with the French, make up half the total popul.and constitute the lowest paid section of the working-class; but these others are being rapidly assimilated and do not present any permanent language or racial problem. The one exception is the growing Oriental section of British Columbia (now nearing 7% of B.C.'s pop.) which has been systematically denied citizenship, even when born in Canada, and whose successes in agriculture and small trading have already been used by the Liberal Party as arguments for white-chauvinist policies on the west coast, just as Arcand makes scapegoats of the Jewish clothing workers in Montreal. Japanese and Chinese supply most of the labor in canning, fishing and market gardening, together with the few remnants of aboriginal Indians, and constitute the lowest paid section of the Canadian workers. The revolutionary party must work to secure their right of inclusion in Trade Union organizations, support their demands for citizenship. (timidly championed by theC.C.F.) and fight against all such race discrimination.

LII AGRICULTURE

1. The three central prairie provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta) produced, until 1932, an average yearly wheatcrop of 400 million bushels. Even before the depression, however, the growing competition of Russia, China, and the Argentine had weakened the Canadian hold on the world market, and the position of the Canadian farmer was being steadily reduced by predatory control over freight rates and and agricul tural machinery prices by eastern trusts. Unscientific methods of dry-farming and sporadic droughts weakened the soil in large areas, while the passing of the control of the cooperative Wheat Pool into the hands of big banking interests further reduced the individual bargaining power of the farmer. With the collapse of the world market, agric. production went down 60% and the already large section of farmers in debt was increased to 80%, so that the mass of growers are now virtually tenant-farmers and laborers for the banks. Average farm income is now under $500 a year and agric. wages $300 ($820 in 1920).

2. The passing of poineer prosperity days had already been reflected in dissident political movements of the farmers. Independent farmer governments came to power in the post-war days in the prairie provinces. Unable to buck the national banking and railroad systems these parties soon disintegrated. In Manitoba and Sask. The farmers returned to Liberal Governments, though with increasing and significant votes for the CCF (Socialist)Party. In Alberta, they fell victims to the Social Credit nonsense of the religious fakir, Aberhart, and are now once more in process of disillusionment. In the meantime, the farmers plight worsens, whereas in 1937 there was a slight decrease in the total number on relief in Canada, the number of farmers on relief increased 37%.

3. In these circumstances the 30% farming pop. of the Prairie Provinces present a serious problem not only for the capitalists but for the proletarian revolution. Isolated from proletarian influence yet increasingly pauperized and disillusioned with capitalism, they offer a reservoir for fascism unless the rev. party can win their confidence and support.

4. Although the CCF originated in a federation of the Alberta Farmer and Labor Parties, it rapidly lost its farm support because it failed to link the farmers' fight against the banks and railroads with the general proletarian struggle for socialism. In Ontario, on the other hand, where there is a large class of semi-prosperous orchard farmers, the CCF

retained some farm elements by diluting its social-democratism and so losing proletarian confidence. The great majority of Ontario farmers remain political reactionaries, who form the basis of popular support for the reactionary Liberal premier Hepburn, and served as his strike-breakers in last year's Ontario strike-wave. Similarly in the eastern maritime Provinces (especially New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ reactionary Liberal Governments receive the popular support of fruit-farmers in the passage of bills forbidding strikes (e.g. New Brunswick's recent "Incustrial RelationsBill") directed against the growing class-consciousness of the maritime lumberworkers, miners, and fishers. In Nova Scotia, however, militant struggles of such workers have forced the passage of a "Little Wagner Act", legalizing the right of collective bargining. Uncompromising struggle must be waged against the reactionary separatist character of the independent farmer parties with their demands for high tariffs against foreign foodstuffs and their support of anti-labor legislation. At the same time, progressive farmer demands, such as the present agitation for mortgage cancellations, federalized relief and crop insurance, should be supported by the proletarian party of revolution, as practical steps towards the inclusion of politicized farmers in the labor movement. Such support must be accompanied by careful propaganda directed to show the farmer that his economic miseries cannot be solved under capitalism and that his future lies in the hands of the proletarian revolution.

IV. Industry and Finance

1. Again reflecting features of uneven development Canada shows a co-existence of highly developed and rationalized industries in isolated centres with a continual primary development of mining and lumbering along an expanding frontier. Manufacturing is highly centralized and trustified, so that nearly ½ million of the 11 million pop. is concentrated in five cities, although these are dotted across a 3,000 mile line. Between 1923-30 the industrial prolet. increased at the rate of 20,000 a year, and half of this was taken up by plants employing over 500 workers.

2. Five percent of the pop. controls 90% of the wealth. Banking is more concentrated even than in the U.S., being completely in the hands of ten national companies with combined assets of $3¼ billion, (1936) 81% of which is owned by the four leading banks. (Montreal, Royal, Commerce and Nova Scotia). Further centralization has taken place recently through the pooling of directorates to form a "national" Bank of Canada. In contrast with the U.S., Can. banking has been free of bank failures throughout the depression. The Big Four banks also control an estimated 75% of all trust company and 55% of all insurance company holdings and, through interlocking directorates, 75% of Canadian industry. These industrial corporations are in turn enormously centralized and interlocked Can. Chemical Industries Ltd. controls all chemical rubber and war industries, corresponding monopolies are vested in the Bell Telephone, Imperial Oil, the Steel Co. of Canada, Canada Packers, etc. Can. syndicates of General Motors and Ford monopolize auto production and the latter is now the controlling center for subsidiary motor plants through the British Empire. Rail and water transportation both inland and transoceanic is controlled by the C.P.R., largest travel corporation in the world, operating coal and metal mines, giant farms, timber and smelting companies, fleets of ocean liners, and a national hotel chain. The only other railroad is the CNR "nationally owned", virtually bankrupt, its absortion by the C.P.R. is being agitated in certain capitalist circles and opposed by the Stalinists.

3. Metal mining, at present the most prosperous of Canadian industries,

is similarly trustified. International Nickel exports 75% of the worlds supply (a large portion to Japan) and controls also 50% of Canadian copper, zinc and lead, all key war-supplies, it is linked with the banking Big Four, as is the enormously profitable and expanding gold-mining industry, which has created a score of new Canadian millionaires in the last two years.

4. So top-heavy is the framework of the new Canadian capitalism that it plays a subsidiary imperialist role in itself, with two billion dollars of investments abroad. Can. power trusts and banks control the public utilities of Rio do Janeiro (Brazilian Traction), Barcelona and Mexico City, and have large investments and bank offices throughout the Latin Americas.

V AMERICAN AND BRITISH INVESTMENTS

1. Although a powerful native capital has thus developed parallel to the U.S. and on a similar exploitation of the natural resources and of starving European immigrants, the Canadian bourg. have fattened themselves only by stealing large and larger scraps from the feastings of British and American imperialisms. It is the immense investment pressure of these two powers which has stamped the trustified pattern of modern capitalism upon a still sparsely-settled frontier country. Can. capital is now inescapably enmeshed with its foster-parents and its activities are only secondarily those of bourg. nationalism opposing imperialism, and primarily the internal reflections of American-British competition. Unalterable geography, as well as the course of history, has predetermined the triumph of ~~xxxxx~~ American~~xxxxxxxxxx~~. Since the war the latter has displaced Britain as Canada's chief trader (45% of all Can. trade) and investor (4billions to Britain's 2 4/5 billions, (1934) out of a total of $18 billion invested in Canada. The House of Morgan competes with ~~the~~ Rothermere ~~for~~ control of ~~xxxxxxxxx

which, compared with the total population, is as large and as organized (12%) as that of the U.S.A. and is actually more concentrated and politically more class-conscious. The Social democratic movement plays a much relatively larger role in Can. politics than so far in the U.S. Its history of militant action is briefer, even more sporadic, but equally intense. In 1919 a General strike in Winnipeg established a semi-soviet form of political and industrial control of the workers which was broken only by military intervention from the east; periodic upheavals of the coal and metal miners especially on the eastern and western coasts have developed these traditions of bitter class struggle; they have been further extended in 1937 by a short but sharp wave of C.I.O. strikes in the large motot and textile industries of Ontario. High wages, home ownership, life insurance and other advantages shared by Can. workers in commom with American and in contrast to European have evapprated and the realization that these cannot return is setting in motion a permanent radicalization of the Canadian prol.

VI TRADE UNIONS

1. Nevertheless by European standards unionization in Can. is still backward (although rapidly increasing since 1935) and is specifically weakened by being split into several groupings. The largest and most militant of these is the Can. affiliation to the AFL, now 137,000 members. In Canada the CIO movement has remained inside the AFL because the craft union group had a weaker basis and have been compelled to adapt themselves to the great speed of industrial development in the country. Some craft-union strength lies outside of the AFL in the conservative railway brotherhoods (22,000) which represent the highest degree of unionization in the country (35%) and consequently the highest wage-levels, though these have recently been drastically cut. About 50,000 workers are affiliated to the All-Canadian Congress of Labor (ACCL: 27,000 members) or the Can. Fed. of Lavor (CFLL 25,000) rival national split-offs. The ACCL originated partly as a progressive revolt against AFL bureaucracy but rapidly developed a national chauvinistic bureaucracy of its own from which the CF of L is another revolt. The latter pursues a more progressive policy in B.C., endorsing the CCF and fighting Stalinist popular frontism. In addition, about 45,000 workers are enrolled in the Catholic "Syndicats" already referred to; formed in 1901 they did not show any militancy until this year; they are now increasing in numbers but still represent in the main reactionary separatist tendency. In the Stalinist third period more than 20,000 workers were enrolled in Red Trade Unions (WUL) which have now been liquidated. Finally about 37,000 workers are enrolled in independent international unions, chiefly the O.B.U. (25,000) Total Trade Union membership in 1936 had risen to 322,500, which is not yet equal to the peak of 380,000 in 1919.

2. Certain of these groups have given occasional timid support to the CCF and the latter is at present attempting to attract the union movement inside by allowing affiliation without compelling adherence to the party principles (on the plan of the Brit. L.P.), but so far without results. The new reformist policy of Stalinism has allowed the C.P. to penetrate and gain considerable organizational control of the national and international unions, especially in the lower ranks of the bureaucracies, where the Stalinites systematically support the right wing. In the west the T.U. movement has fading traditions of the old I.W.W. and O.B.U. days.

3. The C.I.O drive resulted in the partial organization of the auto and textile industries but failed to reach the important and unorganized metal mines, packing, pulp and steel plants. Real wages in these and generally have always been somewhat lower than in the U.S. though away above European standards. Since the depression wages have dropped to new lows.

NOTES BY EARL BIRNEY (signed Robertson – –ed.)

Text of pages 7, 8,9 and 10 : ‘’Canadian capitalism & the strategy of the revolutionary movement"

(....) *beginning top of page 7:*

(…) needle-trade workers in (Quebec) receive as low as 5 cents an hour. In 1931 unskilled labour averaged $9 a week or a quarter of the minimum health standard computed that year by the government itself. The average wage of the half-million workers was $10 a week in 1931, and of all workers (including salaried) was $18.

4. The immediate tasks in the T.U. Field are therefore : the creation of joint action commmittees leadding to the unification of the (various) T.U. Centres with an industrial union policy. The drawing of these unions into independent political action (with affiliation to the CCF an immediate progressive step), and into organizing the as yet unorganized masses of workers and unemployed. The final perspective for T.U. Orgnaization should be the linking of a unified Cdn. T.U. Organization with the progressive forces of American trade-unionism.

5. Always and everywhere Cdn. Revs. Must stress the inter-dependence of the Can.-Am. Movements, though it should not be forgotten that the opening round of the Am. Rev. Can begin in Canada; the victory in the first can only come through the support of the Am. Prol., support which would not likely be sufficient unless the Am. Workers were at the same time in the process of overthrowing U.S. Capitalism. The downfall of cap. In Can. As in Latin America is synonymous with the establishment of the prol. Dictatorship in North America.

VII THE DEPRESSION

1. The depression as has been seen produced a crisis as severe in Cda. As in the U.S.; inustrial and farml production dropped to an even a lower level than across the border; in the pulp industry alone there was 24% bankruptcy. The new world armament race, however, enormously revived mining and war industries and produced a business revival similar to that in the U.S. Imports and exports with Japan have increased 33%; Can. Now supplies 72% of Japan's aluminum, 90% of her copper, 97% of her nickel. Gross dividends of all industries reached an all-time high in 1937. “Recession” is already following, with the usual time-lag between Am. And Can. Indices, and though more gradual so far is likely to reach even lower levels in the absence of any enterprising Federal policy of palliatives on the Roosevelt model. (...) The shifting of responsibility for relief upon local

and prov. Authorities has steadily bankrupted the latter, created deeper feuds within the capitalist parties themselves pauperized farmers and unemployed, and, with the threatened suspension of all relief, paves the way for wider and sharper class-struggles.

2. But the subjective factors are still behind the subjective; there is a lack of organizational unity in the T.U.s and of any real national revolutionary tendency or even national labor party. Stalinism continues to emasculate the radicalized elements, and the farmers remain in the main hostile to labor politics. The recent downtrend in (the) economy will probably develop in the coming period into a deep-going social crisis. Falling relief standards may be visualized together by intensive drives by capitalism against the living standards won by the union movement, and corresponding defensive fights by workers and unemployed against these cuts. Disillusionment with the old-line capitalist parties will undoubtedly spread and crate possibilities for a national labor party. Within or without the CCF. The Bolshevik-Leninists must be prepared to meet such a situation with bold slogans of action combined with propaganda slogans which will bridge the gap between the backward leadership and the forward objective conditions. The rise of fascism in Quebec, and of violent strike-breaking governments elsewhere already put the creation of workers' defence guards upon the order of the day. Propaganda slogans of expropriation of the ''Fifty Big Shots'' control of production can be utilized to fill the social-democratic shell of CCF policy with revolutionary meaning. *(CCF=Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Canadian farmer-labor party founded in 1933, succeeded by the NDP in 1961—ed.)*

VIII THE UNEMPLOYED

1. The rapid concentration and rationalization of Canadian industry had already created a permanent reserve of unemployed during the height of post-war prosperity. With the depression, the base-metal mines (except nickel) and the pulp and lumbering enterprises collapsed; by 1933, 27% of all wage-earners were on relief, the proportion reaching 75% in some urban areas. Farm crises swelled the total so that by 1935 over one and one-half million were directly dependent on relief. Trade revival has reduced the official number of totally unemployed to 8%, but continuing rationalization has rendered most of these ''unemployable'' even with a return of capitalist prosperity, which the disappearance of wage-savings and farm assets have swept away the comparatively high standards of living of the Canadian farmer and urban worker. Of the latter, 55% are now propertyless and the homes of most of the rest are hopelessly mortgaged. Since 1935 the relief and unemployment totals have decreased only slightly and with the penetration into Canada this year of the American ''recession'' these totals begin to rise again.

2. Organization of the unemployed reached its peak under the Stalinist drive in the ‘’third period’’ days *(the temporary ultra-left sectarian policy swing of Moscow-oriented Communist Parties in the mid-30s—ed.),* when national hunger-marches were staged and mass organizations were created in certain areas. These quickly collapsed because of ‘’third-period’’ ultra-leftism and have not been revived: the CCF and the trade unions have made little attempt to organize the unemployed who are now almost wholly unorganized; the exceptions being local sporadic groups of little effectiveness.

3. Unemployed discontent is nevertheless widespread and growing. Because relief measures have been applied only by local or provincial authorities, at varied and fluctuating rates, discontent has been inclined to take local and spontaneous forms: marches, riots, relief camp strikes (B.C.), which have been generally ineffective. The average relief scale is at bare subsistence level, greatly below the federal relief rates and WPA scales in the U.S. The organisation and canalization of the discontent of the large, permanent unemployed army is a pressing and fundamental task awaiting a Canadian revolutionary party.

IX POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Most urgent of all is the problem of creating a nucleus for the party itself. The present political scene is dominated by the Liberal Party of McKenzie King. By no means liberal in its policies it can be distinguished from the previous Conservative Party of Bennett, now the official federal opposition, only as it favors American investment interests in preference to British (but this distinction is rapidly vanishing), and is tied up with the newer mining fortunes of Canada; its mass support comes from the petit-bourgeoisie and farmers. Because of popular isolationist sentiment King pursues a carefully negative foreign policy, at the same time facilitating munition production for Britain and war-trade with Japan. In the face of the crisis King has been forced to make gestures towards federal relief legislation but at the expense of party dissentions headed by Hepburn, leader of the Ontario provincial Liberals’ financial heart of the party. Hepburn, directly controlled by mining interests, pursues a frankly reactionary policy: he raised his own troops to smash the General Motors CIO strike at Oshawa, prevented the entry of unions into the mines, and has effected a bloc with the red-baiting Duplessis and the Union National party of Quebec. This bloc represents a solid front of Eastern finance capital against the growing demands of the agricultural areas for increased federal powers. National attention is at the moment centered in the rival pleas of the various provinces before the Rowell Commission empowered to recommend changes in the B.N.A. Act *(British North America Act, 1867, legislation empowering Canadian Confederation –ed.)*

2. The CCF is a typical social-democratic party definitely right-wing in its federal leadership and program, but youthful (5 years old) and still capable of some left-wing

development. It grew quickly at first reaching 20,000 active members, winning 300,000 votes and 7 members in the last federal election, and securing representation in the provincial parliaments of 5 western provinces. But because it lacked bold and unified policies it lost much of its Ontario proletarian and its prairie farm support. Nationally the CCF remains a loose federation without a consistent policy on major issues; its federal members act largely as individuals; some supporting the League *(of Nations, precursor to the UN)* and collective security, others following the general party sentiment for neutrality.

3. In Ontario, home of the largest section of the Canadian proletariat the CCF is now small, petit-bourgeois and bureaucratic in leadership, and policyless; its membership has shrunk to 2,000 and its parliamentary representation disappeared (although the party still polled 80,000 votes in the last Ontario election. In the Maritimes and Quebec the CCF has never had any success. The party's mass influence is confined to Winnipeg, which returns 2 Federal members, including Woodsworth, the party leader, to some Saskatchewan farm areas (2 Federal members) and to B.C.

4. In B.C. the CCF is the official opposition in the provincial House and returns 3 members to the Federal (Parliament). Although the B.C. section has also declined from a peak of 40% of the provincial votes it is still large and influential among the urban workers of Vancouver and the mining areas. This is chiefly due to the fact that the B.C. section has taken active part in the extra-parliamentary struggles of the workers in a province traditionally militant. Its extreme right wing was driven out two years ago resulting in the growth of left-wing and centrist tendencies, and the preservation of mass influence. The chief hope for the development of a revolutionary movement at the moment centres in the CCF in B.C.

5. The policies of the CP *(Stalinist Communist Party of Canada –ed.)* are of course those of the Third International everywhere. Founded in 1923 it build a tradition of militancy which was exploited and dissipated in a number of bloody strikes in the ''Third Period'' days. With the *(re)*turn to ''Popular Frontism'' *(multi-class, ''anti-monopoly" coalitions –ed.)* the CP has concentrated its energies in Peace Leagues, in solidarizing itself with the trade union bureaucracy (with notable success in the CIO), and in organizational fractional manoeuvres within the CCF for the purpose of capturing control of its machinery. The Canadian ''Popular Front'' tendency at present takes the form of a Labor Representation Association based on its trade union influence, but it has so far failed to involve appreciable numbers in the trade unions or the CCF largely because the latter has been unable to resolve a conflict in its own ranks between collective security and isolationist policies. The older support of the CP which came from the lower-paid but politicized middle-European immigrant, notably from sections of the 300,000 Ukranians in Canada, is being gradually lost in exchange for the usual periphery of middle-class

democrats. The party claims to have 10,000 members still and certainly represents a dangerous reactionary force which must be constantly fought and yet from whose ranks proletarian militants may still be drawn. Both the bosses and the trade union bureaucracy find increasing use for Stalinism and he consequent Stalinist entrenchment in the Tus makes them more alluring allies to the political careerists in the CCF leadership. Apart from partial disagreement on foreign policy the CP and the CCF have parallel reformist programmes and increasingly nite their local platforms for successes in municipal elections. They make parallel agitations, nationally for an embargo against Japan, Fed action to relieve unem. And farm distress, and to fix wages and hours to repeal the Que. Padlock law, and to secure state ownership of the C.P.R.

6. The victory of bureaucratic centrism in the 3rd Interntl in 1927 had an immediate repercussion in the Can CP by the expulsion of Spector, its leading theoretician and national editor, followwed by the expulsion of others including later the national sec MacDonald. Around the leadership of these two a small Left Opposition grew in Toronto and maintained these connections with the parallel American group. When the latter entered the stage of the SLA the Toronto group functions for a time directly as one of its sections, but later assumed organizational independenceunder the name of the Workers Party of Canada.

7. During the latter days of the « third period » the WPC grew to 125 members & extended its influence. A bi-monthly organ was created, groups formed in the other four large cities and a tradition of progaganda meetings established in Toronto. A Spartacus Youth League was developed to 150 members and an adult Ukrainian branch fouonded which published a B-L bulletin in its own language. Progressively TU policies brought contacts and influence in the needleworkers and boot and shoe crafts, and an unemployed movement was built up to 350 members. In general, however, the WPC was isolated from the working masses, and hampered by splitting sectarians within its ranks. One of the latter was purged by the expulsion of a Fieldite group, largely petite-bourgeois, which has since maintained itself as a propaganda sect in Toronto.

8. With the CP turn to popular frontism, the UPC entered into a period of declining influence and activity Organizational weakness was increased by the loss of Apector to the American movement, and later of MacDonald into political inactivity, throwing the burden of leadership upon comparatively inexperienced comrades. In Ontario, the Spartacist Youth sought to overcome isolation by entering the CCYM, youth section of the CCF, but their work was cut short by the rapid degeneration of this organization. In order to hold their influence they were forced to follow the militant youth out of the CCYM into the adult CCF. In Vancouver, where the only

other WPC group remainted, the mass character of both the CCYM and CCF movements had early compelled our comrades to concentration in fractional work in these organizations, though continuing a WPC framework outside. In Toronto where the CCF was weaker, a division of opinion occured among our comrades as to the tactical wisdom of entry. A long and paralizing factional fight followed which further reduced the ranks and resulted in a split. A majority of 35 entered the CCF with the approval of the International Secretariat, while a minority of 18 remained outside and attempted to carry on a separate identity. The Minority soon disintegrated and this year most of their active members joined the majority in the CCF. Some continue as an independent educational club in a youth branch of the workman's circle.

9. The majority seriously weakened by the smallness of its cadre and hampered by the hostility of the CCF bueaucracy, went through a slow process of consolidation in the CCF which is just now bearing fruit. An open left-wing group, the Socialist Policy Group, has now been organizing and is in process of national unification with the Vancouver forces. A twice-monthly *(....continued on page 11)*

monthlymimeographed organ is being published putting forward a revolutionary policy for the CCF. The SPG has a force of about 40 in Toronto with a dozen outside the CCF giving general adherence, and slightly less in Vancouver, predominantly our comrades, since there has been little time yet to convert contacts into recruits. In Ontario the eventual recruitment will undoubtedly be small, because of the limited opportunities of the CCF there at the present, but in Vancouver the possibilities are much wider. Efforts are being made there to unify around the SPG two leftwing groupings already in existence, each with a fraction organ. Our own cadre there has won strong positions in the youth and because of its almost complete proletarian composition, has considerable influence in unemployed and TU work.

10. The wide differences in the character of the CCF in Ontario and B.C continue to make the formulation of a national perspective very difficult. The tightening burocracy and falling membership in the Ont. CCF may force our comrades there to conclude their CCF experiences at any time now, although at least a summer's lease of life seems probable. In B.C. however our comrades at present see a longer perspective with increasingly fruitful work for both sections the immediate tasks are however clear: the extension of the SPG nationally throughout the CCF, with the national CCF convention in July as the immediate focus of attack; the concentration of energies and forces upon the exposure of socialdemocratic and Stalinist policies and the counterposing of the revolutionary program of the Fourth Intrnl; the organization within the CCF of a national group which will be prepared at the proper moment to emerge into independent life as the Canadian section of the Fourth Intrntl.

11. In the meantime the closest possible contact with the American SWP is necessary; upon the latter our comrades are largely dependent for literature and will continue to be so even with the re-establishment of Canadian organs. Also, although organizational separation will be necessary for some time, the policy of fraternal consultation and of representation at American plenums and conventions should be continued for the exchange of information and advice. The use of American propaganda speakers should be increased; of great benefit in strengthening the sense of solidarity between the Can. and Amer. prolet. the practice is of special importance at present because of the strategic difficulties which prevent the Can. comrades from holding open propaganda meetings under their own banner. Whenever possible American speakers on tour should include Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver in their itinery, with the full financial support of the Can. section. A system of collaboration on trade union questions and local problems is greatly needed between the Amer. west coast and Vancouver, which has never yet been visited by a national Canadian or american speaker. In every way links should be forged towards the North American and world proletariat.

X SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP

1. The Socialist Policy Group was formed in April this year as a legal organization within the Ont. CCF under cover of which the 4th Internationalists in the CCF carry on their activity. Originating as an educational group, the S.P.G. has gradually changed its character into a militant left-wing which is now in the process of:

(1) Adopting revolutionary positions on every question of national and international importance.

(2) of waging a relentless political struggle against the reformist burocracy.

(3) of exposing the reactionary policies and opportunist tactics of

Stalinist stooges within the CCF.

(4) of publishing fortnightly an internal mimeographed organ, the Socialist Action bringing our point of view to the membership.

2. While the S.P.G. has as yet attracted few revolutionary elements to its line, nevertheless it is felt that as the inevitable fight with the burocracy gets underway, all genuine left wingers will be drawn into the struggle in our support although in the ind they may not follow us out. It would be futile to attempt to set a date for leaving the CCF: this will be determined by the course of events, the tactics of the burocracy and the influence of the SPG in the membership. So long as we are allowed complete freedom to propagate our revolutionary ideas among the members and thereby spread our influence, unnecessarily provoking our expulsion would be pointless. On the other hand any paralysing curtailment of our freedom in the CCF, the outlawing of the SPG or banning the Socialist Action e.g. would premise a political struggle culminating in the formation of an Independent section of the 4th International.

3. Until recently the spg was confined solely to Toronto where most of our forces lie. However ~~the SPG~~ steps have already been taken to transform it into a national tendency by the formation of a similar group in Vancouver, B.C. The tempo of our work in Toronto or Vancouver would not be hampered by developments in either city owing to the nature of the national CCF as a loose federation of practically autonomus provincial organizations. Under such circumstances the expulsion from the CCF of our comrades in Toronto would not exclude our Vancouver group remaining in the CCF until local conditions warranted a split.

Robertson.

Note by R.D. →

Ewd Burnett
Left Cdn Trot
1940